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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW FOR THE
HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

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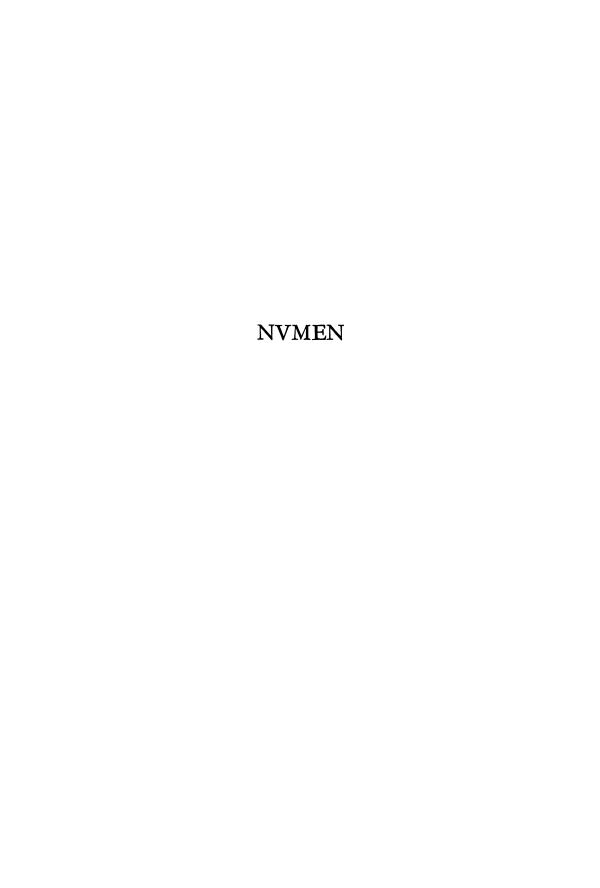
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NVMEN

THE LIFE OF SHINRAN SHONIN:
THE JOURNEY TO SELF-ACCEPTANCE

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Introduction

Shinran's life has great historical interest because it was the chrysalis within which a new and distinctive form of Buddhist piety and thought developed. His religious experience gave him a penetrating insight into the evil nature of human existence which became the foundation for his understanding that salvation is through faith alone. Just as this perception is historically significant, the life out of which it arose also gains in historical importance. The course of his life has a direct relation to the thought which he formulated for it is quite unlikely had he not been separated from his master Hōnen, nor chosen to live a life among the peasants of the eastern provinces would he have contributed to the development of Pure Land tradition in such a creative manner as his thought reveals.

As is natural in the case of influential personalities, stories grow up which have the purpose to stress his greatness in overt ways. In the case of religious teachers it is not uncommon to illustrate points of doctrine in events of the teacher's life. Thus numerous tendentious tales may appear.

The life of Shinran is not exceptional in this regard. Hence it is a primary aim of this study to sift the materials relating to his biography in order to provide a reasonable account of the course of his career. It is not the intention of this work to criticise scholars of Japanese religions for accepting, even though tentatively, stories given in the tradition about great leaders, since in many cases direct knowledge of the Japanese language and the availability of critical studies has been lacking. It is hoped that this study can fill some lacuna in a critical inquiry into the life and thought of Shinran.

In addition to sifting the various stories concerning Shinran in the tradition, our inquiry will also be concerned with presenting information on certain significant problems of Shinran's life which have attracted the attention of recent Japanese scholars. Among these are the marriage of Shinran and Eshinni and his family; the nature of religious heresies in Kanto and the tragic separation of father and son, and the social composition of Shinran's disciples.

The information which we glean from the various traditions and historical sources reveals four basic periods in Shinran's life. The first period concerns his entrance into the monastic life and his stay on Mount Hiei. It was during this time that his spiritual conflict, uncertainty and dissatisfaction arose. The second period centers about his conversion to Hōnen's teaching. This was the time of discovery. The third begins with his exile in Echigo and includes the later period of preaching in the Kantō region.

Here his insights into the meaning of Pure Land doctrine deepened, and new and original concepts were forged. The fourth period covers the time after he retired to Kyōto to devote himself to writing and interpreting the faith for his disciples. This last period may be called the time of definition and clarification.

The Period of Religious Dissatisfaction (1181-1201)

Shinran is believed to have been born in 1173 as the son of Arinori and related to the Fujiwara clan through the Hino family, according to tradition. [1]) While his mother's name and clan connections are completely unknown, tradition claims she was Kikko, the daughter of Minamoto Yoshichika. [2]) It appears that he was the eldest of four or five

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1) *Honganji Shōnin Shinran Denne* (hereafter given as *Denne*), *Shinshū Shogyō Zensho* (hereafter given as *SSZ*.) Kyōto: Kōkyō Shoin, 1941-1953), III, 639. Commentary in Murin Kasuka, *Shinram Denne* (Kyōto: Shiseki Kankokai, 1958), 262-263. For historical discussions see Ryusho Umehara, *Shinranden no Shomondai* (*Kyōto*: Kenshingakuen, 1951), 15-34. Kemmyo Nagazawa, *Shinshū Genryū-Shiron* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1951), 174-177.

2) No mention is made of Shinran's mother in the *Denne*, but in the Shōtoden of the Takada school of Shinshū, she is said to be of Minamoto origin. See *Shinran Zenshū* (Tōkyō: Futshūsha, 1958), V, 172. Yamada, *op. cit.*, 36-39. Nanyu Hirose, "Shinran Shōnin no Shusse," *Shinshu no Sekai*, II-9 (August 1922), 195 points out that there are great chronological difficulties if Kikko is accepted as Shinran's mother. She must have been born before 1110 when Yoshichika was put to death. Therefore she would have been at the improbable age of sixty when he was born.

brothers whose names appear in the *Sompibummyaku* genealogy and the *Honganji* genealogy. [3]) According to certain traditions, he was raised by his uncles Noritsuna and Munenari, [4]) because he lost his parents as a young child. However, the lack of detailed and reliable information concerning his family relationships prevents us from giving a more connected account of his earliest life.

While it is impossible to assess the genealogies afforded us by tradition, and while it may have been the intention of the biographers to furnish Shinran with an aristocratic background in order to commend him to the aristocratic class, the character of his personality revealed in his writings and the intellectual nature of his teaching, as well as the events surrounding his exile, indicate that he was not strictly peasant or warrior in origin.

The motivation and occasion for Shinran's entrance into the monastic life of Mount Hiei are also obscure, though various suggestions appear in traditional sources. According to the tradition of the *Denne*, he was destined to obtain a position in the court following the footsteps of his father. [5]) However, he turned his back on these prospects because he had a desire to prosper the Buddhist teaching and to work for the salvation of all beings. At the age of nine, he is said to have requested his uncle Noritsuna to accompany him to the monastery. In a later work, the *Saishukyōjueji*, the motivation is attributed to his deep sense of the transiency of life after the loss of his parents. [6]) There exists also the tradition in which Shinran's mother requested on her death bed that he become a monk. [7])

Although it is impossible to determine precisely the motivations behind his retirement to the monastery from the traditions, there is information which may provide a clue. As we have already pointed out, Shinran may have been the eldest of four or five brothers. Two of these brothers are clearly known to history. They were also monks. Further, Shinran's father apparently had become a monk and is re-

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3) Yamada, *op. cit.*, 36-37.
4) *SSZ.*, III 639, 661. Yamada, *op. cit.*, 37. Gemmyo Nakazawa, "Shinran no Tanjo to Kekei," *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.*, I, 63-64.
5) Kasuka, *op. cit.*, 263-264.
6) *SSZ.*, III, 821.
7) Yamada, *op. cit.*, 40. Shūgaku Yamabe, *Waga Shinran* (Tōkyō: Dai-Ichi Shobo, 1941), 80-81.

ferred to in the *Honganji* genealogy as Mimurodo Daishin Nyūdō. [8])
Against the theory of Arinori's early death there is the reference by
Zonkaku to a sutra dedicated to Arinori by Shinran and his brother
Kaneari on the occasion of memorial service after Arinori's death. [9])

In the light of these facts scholars have generally rejected the tra-
ditional accounts and sought for other possible motivations whereby a
father and at least three of his sons retired to the religious life. Some
point to a great family problem, [10]) while others look to the background
of turmoil and upheaval at the end of Heian for the reason. Examples
of other mass retirements have been mustered to indicate that it was a
common custom of the nobility to take up religious life in order to
stabilize their political or economic existence. [11]) However, none of
these illustrations, though suggestive, are sufficient to determine the
precise reasons in the case of Shinran and his father and brothers. [12])

Whatever may have been the cause behind his retirement, there is
no doubt about Shinran's presence on Mount Hiei and his involvement
in the religious discipline of that institution. The traditional accounts,
however, provide us with little reliable material on the basis of which
to give an objective view of the character of his study there and the
sources of his spiritual dissatisfaction. The course of his stay there, ac-
cording to the traditional narratives, is designed to glorify his achieve-
ments and wisdom, and thus provide a dramatic background for the
radical turn which his life took when he renounced Mount Hiei to
become a disciple of Hōnen.

The *Denne* relates that in 1182 Noritsuna took Shinran to Shōrenin
which was then headed by the famous priest Jichin (Jien). Shinran
was accepted into the Tendai order and was given the name Hannen
Shōnagon no Kimi. [13]) The various references in tradition to this
period of twenty years in which Shinran studied Buddhism on Mount
Hiei are primarily concerned with his religious experience. They em-

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8) *Ibid.*, 34.
9) *Ibid.*, 38-39. Umehara, *op. cit.*, 35-42.
10) Nakazawa, *Shinshū Genryūshiron, op. cit.*, 176-177.
11) Yamada, *op. cit.*, 38.
12) *Ibid.*, 40.
13) *SSZ.*, III, 639. On the chronological problem of Shinran's relation to Jichin
see Kemmyo Nakazawa, *Shijo no Shinran* (Tōkyō: Bunken Shoin, 1922), 54.
Yusetsu Fujiwara, *Shinshushi Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Daito Shuppansha, 1939), 76.
Umehara, *op. cit.*, 51-52.

phasize his great knowledge and understanding of doctrine in order to make it clear that he had thoroughly weighed Tendai thought and practice and found that salvation could not be achieved through it. Generally his experience is telescoped into a few descriptive, formal statements, though the *Shōtoden*, coming from the Tokugawa period, gives a more detailed and chronological account of his activities there.

According to the tradition, Shinran studied at Yogawa Ryōgon on Mount Hiei which signified that he stood in the line of the Pure Land tradition that had evolved through Genshin, Ryōnin and Hōnen. [14] Junko Matsuno particularly stresses the influence of Genshin's thought on Shinran, and implies this influence comes from the period of his stay on Mount Hiei. [15] Tradition also asserts that he had attained a complete understanding of Tendai philosophy. [16] His understanding included the exoteric and esoteric teachings of Buddhism and especially the Tendai principle that the "three truths are one truth," [17] as well as Shingon mysticism. [18] As the result of meeting various great teachers, learning many doctrines, and practicing many forms of meditation, Shinran is said to have equalled Hōnen in his understanding of Buddhism. [19]

In evaluating such traditions we must remember that their purpose was to exalt the founder by praising his wisdom and spiritual insight. The only basis in fact which gives any support to these traditions is the fact that he was scholarly and his writings reveal a considerable knowledge of Buddhist works and an understanding of basic Buddhist doctrine. Many of his writings are anthological in which he gathered texts to support his views. How much of this material he acquired on Mount Hiei, we cannot say. This period, together with his residence in Yoshimizu with Hōnen, could have provided him with ample opportu-

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14) Junkō Matsuno, "Shinran o meguru Shomondai," *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai*, Kazuo Kasawara (ed.), (Tōkyō: Sankibo, 1957), 321.

15) Junkō Matsuno, Shinran (Tōkyō: Sanseido, 1959), 5-16.

16) Takakusu, *op. cit.*, 133-134, for aspects of Tendai teaching.

17) William Edward Soothill, Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1937). 76-77. The three are Void, Provisional and Middle; their unity is the fundamental standpoint of Tendai doctrine.

18) The term Yugayugi refers to Shingon teaching. *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, I, 134, note 16.

19) *SSZ.*, III, 780.

nity to gather and read many texts which he could not have done later
in the provinces.

According to the *Shōtoden*, Shinran's achievements on Mount Hiei
go beyond purely scholastic attainments. It claims that he so impressed
Jichin that at the age of twenty five he was appointed the Abbot of
Shōkōin. [20] As Jichin's assistant, he gave lectures and conducted ser-
vices, and is even reputed to have constructed a library for the Bud-
dhist canon at the west Pagoda.

Despite the wealth of legends and stories concerning his abilities, the
period of Shinran's residence on Mount Hiei is hidden in obscurity
except for one ray of light which illumines the darkness. In a letter to
her daughter Kakushinni, Shinran's wife, Eshinni, relates that he was
a Dōsō on Mount Hiei. [21]

The Dōsō were priests of fairly low status in the organization of
Mount Hiei and probably served either in the Jōgyōzammaidō or the
Hokkedō. [22] Though they have been confused with the Dōshū, another
type of servant priest, it now appears that they were especially con-
cerned with the ceremonies of the Continuous Nembutsu performed in
the Jōgyōzammaidō. As such they were particularly important because
of their intimate connection to the development of Pure Land doctrine
and practice. Ryōnin, the founder of the Yūzunembutsu teaching in
1103, is an outstanding example of Dōsō. [23]

The knowledge that Shinran was a Dōsō and intimately involved in
Pure Land thought already during his stay on Mount Hiei provides a
context for understanding the religious anxiety and dissatisfaction
which he experienced. As a Dōsō, he was exposed to Pure Land con-
cepts concerning the evil character of the age and human existence. He
was probably confronted frequently with the transiency of life, because
the Continuous Nembutsu services were sponsored by individuals
mainly to acquire merit which could be transferred to a relative to en-
sure his good destiny. [24] In this way Pure Land teachings penetrated
Shinran's mind and contributed to the deepening of his religious sen-
sitivity.

20) *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.,* I, 181.
21) *SSZ.,* V, 106.
22) Yamada, *op. cit.,* 52. Tetsuei Sato, "Eizan ni okeru Shinran ni tsuite,"
Shinran Zenshu, op. cit., I, 73.
23) Inoue, *op. cit.,* 205. On the Continuous Nembutsu, *Ibid.,* 85-88.
24) Yamada, *op. cit.,* 45-46.

We have no specific evidence, however, for the source of Shinran's anxiety and dissatisfaction. The *Denne* briefly suggests that he had a desire to retire, that is, to take up the practice of Nembutsu, at the age of twenty nine. [25]) No reasons are given for this, but the *Shōtoden* gives a detailed account of his success at court and his rejection of fame. [26]) The *Tantokumon* relates that he was troubled by his passions and was hindered by them in the practice of meditation. [27])

All the traditions agree that Shinran became deeply troubled because he was not able to obtain an assurance of his salvation. No matter what discipline he attempted, he was obstructed by his passions. There is some historical basis for this fact. In one of Eshinni's letters she tells of his concern for his destiny as the reason for his spiritual quest. [28]) Shinran himself had declared on one occasion that "as I am a person for whom any discipline is difficult to attain, hell will certainly be my destination." [29]) Thus while it is impossible to determine precise causes for his profound sense of sin, there can be no doubt that he experienced a deep sense of failure, frustration, or inadequacy which awakened him to the futility and vanity of Buddhist practices traditionally believed to enable an individual to gain Buddhahood.

Shinran may also have been influenced by the decadent and corrupt conditions which he could have observed on Mount Hiei. The violent activities of the rowdy monks frequently disturbed the peace and quiet of Kyōto, and the continuing strife between the students (Gakushō) and the priests (Dōshū) was not conducive to a contemplative atmosphere. The Buddhist order had become a refuge where monks could compete for fame and power. Thus Shinran, in the same manner as Hōnen, Dōgen and Nichiren, became perturbed and uncertain about the way of salvation.

Whatever the psychological or social reasons may be which lay behind Shinran's religious development, it is possible that he was simply an individual who was constitutionally unsuited for the rigorous practices of meditation of the Tendai system. After years of serious study and sincere attempts to achieve some degree of spiritual insight, he

25) *SSZ.*, III, 639. *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, I, 151, note 8.
26) *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, I, 184.
27) *SSZ.*, III, 661.
28) *Ibid.*, V. 104.
29) *Ibid.*, II, 774.

experienced frustration and inner conflict. There are evidences that his
rejection of Mount Hiei was grounded in a deep sense of sin which
must have developed through the years of his training. The very nature
of his thought indicates that it was an attempt to face up positively to
his sinful nature. He came to view the existence of passion in men as
a sign of Amida Buddha's mercy and the earnest that salvation was
assured. This development is only intelligible on the background of the
disillusionment suffered on Mount Hiei.

   As Shinran became more aware of his own sinfulness and the deca-
dent character of his age, he became more and more anxious about his
own salvation. Tradition records that he visited the various shrines on
Mount Hiei in an effort to discover a solution to his inner conflict.
Unsuccessful in his quest, he went to Kyōto to the Rokkakudō and
began a vigil. All texts agree that he secluded himself there and that it
was a most significant experience. They disagree on the chronological
relation of that event and his conversion to Hōnen's teaching. [30]
Nevertheless, our most certain source for determining the importance
of the event is the brief statement of Eshinni that he left Mount Hiei
and went to the Rokkakudō where he secluded himself for one hundred
days. On the ninety fifth day, he received a vision which included a
message relating to Shōtoku Taishi. The following morning he set out
for Hōnen's hermitage and listened to his teaching faithfully. He was
so attracted by this doctrine that he ignored all criticism and said that
he would accept doom, since he was already doomed. [31]

The period of Discovery (1201-1207)

   From the Rokkakudō, as we have noted, Shinran attended Honen's
hermitage in Yoshimizu. The new phase which was opening in his life
was to be the most decisive and perhaps critical in his whole religious
development. It was his meeting with Hōnen that marked Shinran's re-
jection of the elaborate disciplinary and philosophic approaches to Bud-
dhist enlightenment taught on Mount Hiei. It symbolized the rejection
of the decadent, aristocratic, confusing religion of the age and his iden-
tification with the virile, vital and popular teaching of Hōnen which
brought clarity to religious thought and faith through the stress on the

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   30) Compare accounts in *SSZ.*, III, 661, 821-22 and in *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*,
I, 187-189, 193, 195.
   31) *SSZ.*, V, 104-105.

singlehearted recitation of the name of Amida Buddha. The occasion had such great meaning for Shinran that he long remembered the event. In the epilogue of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* he remarked on his experience:

> But I, Gutoku Shinran, in the year 1201, abandoned the difficult practices and took refuge in the Original Vow. [32])

The brief phrase with which Shinran describes this momentous decision is pregnant with the spirit of reform within Buddhism for which this period is famed, and it shows that he shared the same general outlook as the other reformers of his time.

That Shinran turned to Hōnen's teaching on this occasion is also worthy of note. Hōnen, more than any other Buddhist thinker to this point, had brought to the fore the problem of the self and its degenerate nature. Through Hōnen's teaching individuals burdened with guilt and sin could devote themselves to the simple recitation of Amida Buddha's name in the faith that they would gain birth in the Pure Land despite their sins. It is recorded that he attracted to himself samurai, robbers, prostitutes, fishermen and the like. He enabled these people, excluded from salvation by traditional religious concepts, to aspire for the fruits of Buddhahood though bound as they were to their passion-ridden existence. It was undoubtedly this new aspect of Amida Buddha's compassion which attracted Shinran and led ultimately to his accepting the teaching.

In Yoshimizu it is clear that Shinran comprehended the meaning of Pure Land teaching for the common mortal bound by ignorance and passion. He had come to this understanding through the kindly instruction of Hōnen, and through his life he steadfastly maintained that he was but his earnest disciple. He believed firmly that if Hōnen's teaching were not true then there was no possibility of salvation.

> For me, Shinran, there is nothing else to do other than to believe, as I have received the words of the good man (Hōnen) (when he said) "You can be saved by Amida doing only the Nembutsu." I do not know at all whether the Nembutsu may be truly the seed by which we are born into Pure Land, or is the karmic act by which we can fall into hell.

> Even though I should fall into hell because I was deceived by Hōnen and practised the Nembutsu, I would not repent at all. But, I probably would have

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32) *Ibid.*, 202.

regrets that I was deceived if, indeed, I were one who could become a Buddha
by being diligent in the (practice of the) discipline, (for the sake of) myself
and others, and yet descended into hell through saying the Nembutsu. How-
ever, since I am one who cannot attain to any discipline, hell is probably my
determined dwelling in any case. [33])

After Shinran's discovery of the meaning of Pure Land teaching and
his attainment of an assurance of salvation even as a sinful person, he
devoted himself to the close study of Hōnen's thought. In 1943 texts of
the *Kammuryōjukyō* and the *Amidakyō*, to which Shinran had added
notes as he read, were discovered in the Nishi Honganji storehouse.
The study of these texts and the works quoted by him indicate that they
were probably made while he resided in Yoshimizu. [34])

Shinran's study and growth in the understanding of the Pure Land
teaching in the few short years he lived in Yoshimizu were rewarded
by Hōnen's granting him permission to copy the *Senjakushū* and
allowing him to draw his portrait. For Shinran, these gifts marked the
high point of his spiritual experience and testified to his close relation
with his teacher. In glowing terms he related these incidents and what
they meant to him many years afterward:

> In 1205, by his kindness, I copied the *Senjakushū*. On the fourteenth day
> of the seventh month in that same year, Hōnen wrote with his own pen title
> *Senjakuhongannembutsushu* together with the phrase "Namu Amida Butsu (is)
> the act for Rebirth; the Nembutsu is the foundation," and (my name) "monk
> Shakku." On the same day, I was given permission to draw a portrait of
> Genku (Hōnen). On the twenty ninth day of the seventh month, he wrote a
> title on the picture and with his own brush he penned (the phrase "If I be-
> come Buddha, and all beings who call on my name even down to ten voicings
> are not born (in the Pure Land), may I not obtain true enlightenment. Now
> he had become Buddha, and we know that his profound Vow was not false.
> Beings who pronounce and think on his name shall certainly attain birth (in
> the Pure Land)." Further according to a dream, he changed the characters
> of my name Shakku and wrote that name with his own brush. At this time
> our teacher, the Shōnin, was seventy three years old.
>
> The *Senjakuhongannembutsushu* was compiled through the instruction of
> the Regent in retirement (Tsukinowadono Kanezane whose religious name
> was Ensho). Contained within it are the essentials of Shinshū and the inner
> principles of the Nembutsu. Whoever reads it will find it easy to understand.
> It was rare, most excellent and beautiful passages. It is unsurpassed among

    33) *Ibid.*, 774.
    34) For discussion of these texts see Kasuka, *op. cit.*, 147-150, Tsuji, *Nihon
Bukkyoshi, Chuseihen, op. cit.*, 402-403, and Tomitaro Karasawa, *Bukkyō Kyōiku
Shisō no Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Toyokan Publishing Co., 1955), 165-166.

treasured texts. Years pass; days pass, and those who receive his teaching go
into the millions. Whether one was intimate or distant, those permitted to
see or copy this book were very few. But I have already copied the work
and drew his portrait. This is the effect of the right act of the sole practice
of Nembutsu. It is a sign that (my) birth is assured. Suppressing my tears of
joy and sorrow, I recall the events of that time.

   O, how happy I am. My mind is established in the Buddha Land of the
profound Vow. My thought is set afloat on the sea of the Inconceivable doc-
trine. I have experienced the Tathagata's compassion (Amida Buddha's)
deeply, and I sincerely cherish the kindness of my teacher. [35]

Shinran's testimony to his close relationship to Hoñen became the
basis for the growth of a variety of legends in the Shinshū tradition
which attempt to amplify this relationship. On the one hand, there are
legends which portray him as the correct exponent of Hōnen's faith
in contrast to erring disciples. Here distinctive tenets developed by
Shinran later are represented as the views of Hōnen himself. The po-
lemical background of the tales is obvious. On the other hand, there is
the legend concerning Shinran's marriage to Tamahi at the suggestion
of Hoñen. This legend clearly aims at justifying the institution of mar-
riage for Shinshu clergymen following Shinran's example.

   The legends concerning Shinran's faithfulness to Hōnen's teaching
while he resided in Yoshimizu are interesting because they reflect the
growing gulf at a later time between the Pure Land schools and the
Shinshū group founded by Shinran. The differences center on the
nature of faith and the character of Hōnen's doctrines.

   In this vein Kakunyo, author of the *Denne* (I, 6) related that many
people were attracted to Hōnen's Pure Land teaching, but very few
earnestly followed his doctrine. When Shinran became aware of this
situation, he came to the teacher and proposed a test. Hōnen agreed.
Shinran divided the disciples into two groups by asking them whether
they believed that faith or practice was the foundation of salvation. As
a result, three hundred persons revealed their misunderstanding, be-
cause they sought the basis of salvation in practices. However, Seikaku,
Hōrembo, Shinran and the lay disciple, Hōriki, placed themselves on
the side of faith. The climax of the incident came when Hōnen took
the side of faith and confirmed Shinran's view. [36]

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35) *SSZ.*, II, 202-203.
36) *Ibid.*, III, 643-645.

In two other incidents Hōnen is shown confirming Shinran's point of view. One occasion arose when Shinran claimed that his faith was identical with Hōnen's. Hōnen agreed to this expounding the novel view (actually developed by Shinran) that faith was in actuality a gift of Amida Buddha to good and evil mortals alike. [37]) In another instance, Hōnen agreed with Shinran against other Pure Land disciples that devotees gain the status of rebirth into the Pure Land in the present life and one need not wait to the end of life for assurance of salvation. [38]) This doctrine was actually taught by Shinran and is one of his creative contributions to Pure Land thought.

One of the most important legends concerning Shinran's activities in Yoshimizu is the account of his marriage to Tamahi, the daughter of the Regent Fujiwara Kanezane. The first appearance of the story is in the *Shōtoden*. According to this text, after Shinran had become a disciple of Hōnen, he received a vision in the Rokkakudō (as we have discussed above). In this vision the Bodhisattva Kannon appeared to him in the form of a monk wearing a white kesa and seated on a white lotus. Addressing him by the name Zenshin, the Bodhisattva Kannon made a pledge:

> Even though you violate a woman because of past karma
> I will take the form of a beautiful woman and be violated,
> During your life you will be able to adorn (the doctrine),
> When you die, I will guide you to the Pure Land. [39])

After the message had been given, Bodhisattva Kannon declared: "This is my vow." Shinran was then urged to declare what he had learned in the vision to all beings.

The narrative continues by recounting that in the tenth month, the fifteenth day, in 1201, Regent Kanezane came to Yoshimizu. After the evening sermon, he questioned Hōnen:

> Among your many disciples, Kanezane is a layman. Is there a difference between the Nembutsu of sages and our Nembutsu?

Hōnen replied:

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37) *Ibid.*, II, 690-793, for another version of the same incident.
38) *Ibid.*, III, 22-23.
39) *Ibid.*, 640-641. Same vision related in *Shōtoden, Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.,* 193. The *Denne* version makes no mention of marriage as does *Shōtoden.*

It is clear that the Original Vow is for all beings good or evil and common
mortals will attain birth.

Kanezane then requested Hōnen that he have one of his monks take
a wife and this would become a model for the birth of laymen into the
Pure Land. Hōnen complied and chose Shinran for this marriage.
When Shinran hesitated, Hōnen recalled to him the vision he had had
in the Rokkakudō in which the Bodhisattva vowed to be his wife. Shin-
ran, unable to refuse the master's request, returned home with Kane-
zane and married his seventh daughter Tamahi who was just eighteen
years old at the time. [40]

Although the story derives from a late tradition, it gained very wide
currency and generally appears in almost all accounts of the life of
Shinran in modern works. Marriage of the clergy became a distinctive
feature of the Shinshū community. It was of course not the first time
that clergy were known to be married, but is was the first time that a
theoretical basis for the marriage of priests was formulated. According
to Shinshū belief, the attainment of salvation does not require the aban-
donment of the secular life, but is to be achieved within the framework
of common mortal existence. [41] That Shinran married is no historical
problem since we possess the letters of Eshinni, but it is a question
whether he really married during the residence in Yoshimizu.

We must point out here that although no reputable scholar presently
accepts the account of Shinran's marriage given in the *Shōtoden* and
outlined above, Shinran's marriage during this period is still an open
question. A suggestion that he may have married here is found in the
appearance in certain letters of two mysterious individuals named Ima-
gozennohaha and Sokushōbo. [42] While there is no information by
which to identify these people precisely, Shinran's letters imply that
they have a close relation to him on the basis of which he appealed for
aid in their behalf from the Kantō disciples. Because of the close
relation reflected in the letters, scholars have theorized that Imagozen-
nohaha may have been his wife whom he had to abandon in Kyōto
when he was sent into exile. On his return later in life he found her and
her son there in destitution. Being poor himself, Shinran asked his dis-

40) *Shinran Zenshū*, op. cit., I, 198-199.
41) Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion, op. cit.*, 182.
42) *SSZ.*, II, 725-726. Also Tsuko Ogushi, *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, II 259-260.

siples for help. However, this theory has not been accepted because of
the obscurity of the individuals involved. [43])

The most important evidence against Shinran's marriage in Yoshi-
mizu is the fact that in 1204, he signed the seven point pledge
drawn up by Hōnen in which he promised that his disciples would
observe monastic discipline. Point four of the series of pledges declares:

> You must not, in the name of the *Nembutsu* which you say requires no
> precepts, encourage people to indulge in meat eating, wine drinking, or
> impure sexual intercourse. Never say of people who strictly practise the
> religious discipline prescribed by their sect, that they belong to the so-called
> "miscellaneous practice people," nor that those who trust in the Buddha's
> Original Vow need never be afraid of sin. [44])

Hōnen further reinforced the pledge by a personal letter which he sent
to Abbot Shinsho of Mount Hiei:

> If anyone disseminates distorted views and empty lies, he deserves to be
> severely punished, in accordance with the strictest judgment, and I hope and
> trust that such will be so dealt with. [45])

In face of the mounting criticism and pressures which Hōnen was re-
ceiving from Mount Hiei and Nara, it is unlikely that he would have
tolerated, much less permitted, Shinran to marry in Yoshimizu. That
Shinran himself signed the pledge makes it improbable that he married
at this time. [46])

Shinran's fellowship and study under Hōnen came to an abrupt end
in 1207 when Hōnen and his leading disciples were sentenced to exile
and two others were beheaded. As early as 1204 there were signs of
opposition when the monks of Mount Hiei complained to Hōnen about
the irreligious behaviour of his disciples. [47]) In addition, the monks
also appear to have petitioned the court to abolish Hōnen's community
because his disciples were extremely irreverent towards the gods of the

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43) Miyazaki, *op. cit.*, 20-22. Hyakuzō Kurata, *Hōnen to Shinran no Shinko*
(Tōkyō: Nakano Publishing Co., 1958) 97-99. Saburō Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin no
Gyōjitsu* (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1948), 10.

44) Coates and Ishizuka, op. cit., IV, 551.

45) *Ibid.*, 533.

46) This pledge does not mean that no disciple of Hōnen had married. In fact
Seikaku and Ryūkan two leading followers, were married. See Tsuji, *Nihon Buk-
kyōshi, Chūseihen, op. cit.*, 392-395. Matsuno, *Shinshū Kyodan no Tenkai, op. cit.*,
315-316.

47) Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.*, IV, 550-552.

nation. [48]) Hōnen attempted to appease the authorities on Mount Hiei by drawing up the seven point pledge which he had all his disciples sign.

Attention has been called to the fact that the discipline of Hōnen's followers was really an internal matter for the Tendai order, since Hōnen was supposed to be living according to Tendai regulations. It was quite natural that the abbot of Mount Hiei should be concerned lest the order be brought into disrepute. However, Hōnen's doctrine transcended the limited sphere of Tendai discipline. In his writings, Hōnen had placed the schools of Nara and Mount Hiei into the category of the Holy Path. He directed his criticism to all schools. [49]) Consequently he faced not only opposition from the Tendai order, but in 1205, the priests of Kōfukuji in Nara petitioned the court to punish Hōnen's evil followers. They charged Hōnen with nine specific errors such as the establishment of a new school of Buddhism without government permission, the drawing of a new mandala in which the evil man is shown receiving the light of Amida Buddha, making light of Sakyamuni Buddha, rejecting virtue, rebelling against the gods, obscuring the truth about the Pure Land, giving a wrong interpretation to Pure Land teaching and confusing the nation. [50])

Little appears to have been done to meet the demands of these petitions, because Hōnen had strong supporters in the court such as Regent Kanezane who had even written to the monks of Mount Hiei in defense of Hōnen. [51]) The opposition was crystallized when two indiscrete monks, Anraku and Juren, converted two court ladies without the permission of the retired Emperor Go-Toba. When the retired Emperor returned from his pilgrimage to Kumano, he was told of the incident in a way which led to the suspicion of immoral relations between the monks and the women. In 1207 the two monks were beheaded and Hōnen and his followers were defrocked, reduced to laymen and then banished to distant provinces. [52]) Hōnen was given the secular name Fujii Motohiko, and Shinran received the name Fujii Zenshin. Hōnen

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48) Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi, Chūseihen, op. cit.,* II, 3180319.
49) Encho Tamura, *Hōnen* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1960), 157.
50) *Ibid.,* 157-167. See also Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.,* IV, 557-558, 562, note 15, and Yamada, *op. cit.,* 99-103.
51) Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.,* IV, 554-557.
52) SSZ., II, 794-795. Also Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.,* IV, 599-600.

was sent to Tosa on Shikoku, and Shinran to Kokubu in Echigo to the north.

The justice of the persecution can be questioned, and it is severely condemned in the traditional accounts of the Pure Land school. [53]) In the epilogue of the *Kyōgyōshinshō,* Shinran relates the incident and expresses his own critical attitude. [54])

In the short period between 1201 and 1207 Shinran had found Salvation and faith in the Pure Land doctrine. He progressed rapidly as a disciple of Hōnen to whom he attributed the blessings of assurance and peace. Recognized by Hōnen as a close disciple, Shinran was permitted to make a copy of the *Senjakushū* and to draw a portrait of the teacher. Ever after, those privileges were regarded by him as a sign of his salvation, and they inspired him to continual praise of Hōnen. However, the frail human bond was broken, and when Shinran departed for the north, he could not know that he would never see the master again; that whatever questions arose in his mind he would have to find solutions on his own. The experience with Hōnen had shown Shinran the direction to go, the exile and the new life would mature and deepen the insights he had received.

The Period of Deepening Insight and Evangelism

(The Sojourn in Echigo, 1207-1212, and in Hitachi in Kantō, 1212-1245?)

The Significance of the Echigo Exile for Shinran.—The Exile and Shinran's Spiritual Development.—The causes of the break up of the Yoshimizu community lay in the enmity and axiety of the established religious orders who feared the loss of their power through the growth of the Pure Land teaching. [55]) However, the ultimate result of their endeavor to suppress his doctrine and its leaders, was its greater popularity. When Hōnen and his disciples were banished to various parts of the country, they had great opportunity to continue to spread the teaching in areas hitherto neglected by the dominant schools. Frequent attempts were made to restrain the movement, but they failed. Hōnen

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53) Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.,* 598-599. See also *SSZ.,* II, 701, 532-541, verses 59-75, 517-518, verse 13, 14.
54) *SSZ.,* II, 201-202.
55) Yamada, *op. cit.,* 95.

had declared it was impossible to stop it, [56]) and in the *Denne*, Shinran is portrayed as accepting the exile as a fortunate event:

> If the great teacher St. Hōnen were not sent into exile, I, too, would probably not have gone into exile. If I did not go into exile, how would the beings in the remote places be saved? This was by the grace of our sainted teacher. In other words he was a manifestation of the Bodhissattva Seishi and Shotoku Taishi was the embodiment of the Bodhisattva Kannon ... [57])

The period of exile was particularly important for Shinran, not only for the possibilities that appeared to spread the Pure Land doctrine, but it was in this time that the insights which he had gained in association with Hōnen were given the opportunity to develop freely. We know little of his actual life during this time, but it was here that the interpretation of Pure Land doctrine which has given Shinran his lasting religious significance began to mature as he faced the problems of establishing a new life in the northern area of Japan.

In order to assess the importance of the Echigo sojourn for the development of Shinran's thought, we must recall that during the Yoshimizu period, he had gained a firm assurance of his salvation which overrode his awareness of a sinful, passionate nature. Once attaining release from his spiritual anxiety, he devoted himself to Hōnen's teaching and became thoroughly indoctrinated and conversant with it. However, a historical problem arises when we study Shinran's teaching itself. There we find a distinct difference from Hōnen on very important points of doctrine. Shinran made a thorough reinterpretation of the traditional Pure Land doctrine, and his thought diverged sufficiently for him to be excluded from later accounts of the Yoshimizu community in the traditional Pure Land School.

When we come to consider the reasons for the radical transformation of Pure Land doctrine which we can observe in Shinran's thought, the Echigo sojourn, despite its obscurity, appears as the key to the problem. Shinran's own personality and his experience during this time of exile became the basis for the new formulations which he made.

The chief contribution of the period of exile to Shinran's spiritual development was the fact that it brought him face to face with the hard realities of the life of the common people which he had not known when he lived apart as a monk pursuing the path of Buddhist studies.

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56) Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.,* IV, 601.
57) *SSZ.,* III, 641.

In this new situation he had the opportunity to observe the life of the people at close hand. In fact, he shared that existence and took a wife as well as abandoned monastic disciplines. His experience was perhaps even more radical than that of an ordinary peasant because of the painful transition which he must have undergone when he was abruptly thrust out of the pleasant confines of the capital and found himself surrounded by the rigorous life of the villager. He said of himself: "I am neither priest nor layman." [58]) This phrase sums up his basic problem. He had to merge his religious life with his new secular existence. He had lost his priestly privileges in the eyes of the state, but he could not entirely cast aside his religious training and interests because he was now merely a layman. Just as he was a priest without privilege, he was a layman without experience.

Inferring from the nature of his doctrine, the fact of his marriage, and what we can surmise of this new life which he was forced to lead, we can conjecture that through his experience in lay life, Shinran came to realize that the common man could attain Buddhist ideals in his ordinary life. He was led through his difficulties and hardships to look deeply into the nature of human existence, and he became acutely aware of the strength and indispensability of the passions and instincts in the struggle for existence. He saw that man was inextricably bound by his passions, and these passions were necessary to maintain his life. Thus, Shinran could not think with the traditional monastic schools that the life of passion was merely to be cast aside in futile attempts to purify the self. For him the Buddhist analysis of the human situation ceased to be a mere poetic or theoretical scheme to justify the monkish practices and privileges. He viewed the human predicament with existential clarity as he lived it himself, and as it was also illumined by his deepened understanding of the compassion of Amida Buddha which he had learned in Yoshimizu. Shinran rejected completely the duality of the religious and day life. He took the principle "Samsara is Nirvana" as something to be applied concretely to the common life. Existentially and philosophically Shinran united the secular and religious life.

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58) Enjun Miyazaki, "Shinran no Tachiba to Kyōgyōshinshō no Senjutsu," *Kyōgyōshinshō Senjutsu no Kenkyū*, Tetsuei Sato (ed.) (Kyōto: Hyakkaen, 1954), 14. According to Miyazaki, Shinran, being neither priest nor layman, was in a position to free Buddhism from its social bondage and permit it to be shared by all the people.

Shinran's Marriage and Family. — Apart from the actual formulation of Shinran's thought which we shall study below, his marriage in Echigo provides us with a suggestion of the probable direction of this thought as we have interpreted it above. His marriage and the problems of raising a family furnished Shinran with a stimulus for his understanding of the human condition. Thus we must give some consideration to the information we have concerning his marriage.

Soon after his arrival in Echigo and his initial experience with the new life there, Shinran took a wife. [59] He undoubtedly soon learned that the requirements for earning a living in that environment necessitated a wife as a helpmate and companion. This companionship he found in Eshinni.

Little is know of Eshinni herself except that she came from Echigo and may have been related to a family of some status in the community. [60] Various bits of information have been garnered by scholars in order to determine her education and wealth. Among these, fragments of sutras which she copied and letters to her daughter Kakushinni reflect some degree of education. It is possible that she also had some wealth because she appears to have possessed some servants, made plans for a gravestone, and was concerned for her grandchildren's education. According to the *Hinoichiryūkeizu*, she was related to Miyoshi Tamenori. Umehara observes that this family had considerable influence in both Echigo and Kantō. The relation may have affected Shinran's decision to go to Kantō. In the *Gyokuyō* of Regent Kanezane reference is made to a Miyoshi Tamenori whom some scholars believe was Eshinni's father. [61]

While there are evidences that Eshinni was related to a family of some influence, there are also indications which can be interpreted to show that she may have only been a servant. She referred to herself as "Chikuzen," a type of familiar name which she may have received when she was employed. It has also been pointed out that she was twenty six when Shinran went to Echigo and her marriage was fairly late for a girl of aristocratic connections. In her later years she moved from place

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59) Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin Gyōjitsu, op. cit.*, 13.

60) Umehara, *op. cit.*, 216-219. Shisō Hattori, *Shinran Nōto* (Tōkyō: Fukumura Shoten, 1950), 21, denies Eshinni was descended from a family of status.

61) We must call attention here to the fact that the name Tamenori in the genealogy referred to is written Japan and in the *Guokuyō* it appears as Japan.

to place in Echigo and the inferior character of her main place of resi-
dence called Tobitanomaki also casts doubt on her relation to a wealthy
family. Her robust handwriting, indicating a strong body, and her
familiarity with servants appear to point to a bond of relation with
them. Thus some scholars conclude that she may have been a servant of
the Miyoshi family, but this is not necessarily to be construed that she
herself was from a low class. Servants were frequently related to the
class they served. [62])

It appears reasonable to suppose that Eshinni lived in close relation
to a family of status and in some way shared the benefits of that status,
though her own is open to question. Whether the relation was based on
kinship or service is not clear. Nevertheless, she appears in Shinran's
life as a woman of considerable ability and character.

Concerning Shinran's family, the *Honganji* genealogy lists seven
children under his name. [63]) Of these seven, the first, Han-i, is reputed-
ly a son born between Shinran and Tamahi, the daughter of Regent
Kanezane. However, since this marriage is regarded legendary, the
birth of this son is also discounted. It has been suggested by some that
Han-i be replaced by Sokushōbo as the eldest son, because he appears
to have a close, but obscure, relation with Shinran. [64]) Leaving aside
Han-i and Sokushōbo, the *Kudenshō* notes that Eshinni was the mother
of six children. [65]) Of these six, three were girls, Kakushinni, Oguro-
nyobo and Koyazenni, and three were boys, Zenran (Jishin), Masukata
(Yubo), and Shinrembo. All are known to history except Koyazenni
who is rejected by some scholars. [66])

Eshinni's letters are all addressed to Kakushinni who was her young-
est daughter. Kakushinni was Shinran's devoted attendant and nurse in
his last days. Oguronyobo apparently died young and the care of her
children fell to Eshinni. [67]) Masukata, also called Yubo, is referred to
in connection with the dreadful famines which made life difficult for
Eshinni's family in Echigo. [68]) He went later to Kuōto, in place of his

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62) Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.,* 36-40.
63) Umehara, *op. cit.,* 212.
64) Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.,* 40.
65) SSZ., III, 19.
66) Umehara, *op. cit.,* 213-215.
67) SSZ., V, 104.
68) *Ibid.,* 103-104, 109.

mother, to be with Shinran in his last moments. [69]) Shinrembo appears in Eshinni's account of Shinran's travels to Kantō which took place when Shinrembo was four years old. [70]) On another occasion Eshinni wrote that Shinrembo became a heretic when he sponsored a service of the Continuous Nembutsu for his father. [71]) Zenran only appears in Shinran's letters when he became the center of a controversy among the Kantō disciples. [72])

From these indications we can see that Shinran had a full family life and responsibility which undoubtedly contributed to his own religious development.

Shinran's Evangelistic Activity in Kantō.—The Departure from Echigo and Emigration to Kantō.—Apart from our knowledge of Shinran's marriage and his family which he acquired in Echigo, and our inferences regarding his spiritual development, we have no knowledge of his secular or religious activities there. Though he remained convinced of the truth of Pure Land doctrine, he does not appear to have engaged in any direct evangelistic activity. Only one disciple, Kakuzen, is recorded from this region. [73]) Shinran lived a quiet and thoughtful life preparing himself for his future task.

In 1211, at the end of five years, Hōnen was pardoned. In the next year, after he returned to Kyōto and took up residence in the western foothills of Higashiyama, he died. [74]) The *Denne* states that Shinran, also pardoned, remained in Echigo in order to preach. [75]) However, the *Shōtoden* relates that he desired to return to Kyōto. After some delay and the death of Hōnen, Shinran reached Kyōto and mourned at the teacher's tomb. The journey also included a trip to Ise. [76]) Scholars, however, are inclined to discount the story of the *Shōtoden*, because knowledge of Shinran's activities and family condition would seem to rule out such a journey.

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69) *Ibid.*, 1-6.
70) *Ibid.*, 101-102.
71) *Ibid.*, 115.
72) *Ibid.*, II, 727-729.
73) Ienaga, *Chūsei Bukkyō Shisōshi Kenkyū, op. cit.*, 190. Ienaga, *Shinran Shonin Gyōjitsu, op. cit.*, 118. Ryūshō Umehara, "Echigo Hairyū Jidai no Shinran," *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, I, 82-84.
74) *SSZ.*, II, 202.
75) *Ibid.*, III, 648.
76) *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.*, I, 212-215.

Shinran delayed his departure from Echigo about two years. It is probable that his family situation prevented him from leaving as soon as he was pardoned. The *Denne's* suggestion that he also stayed in order to preach it not warranted by the number of disciples from that region. Rather, we may imagine that he had become immersed in lay life as a family man and supporter of his wife and children. Shinrembo was born in the third month of 1211, and with the possibility of three other children under the age of five, the difficulties of a change of residence were great. The problem of transporting a whole family would certainly have hindered him from making a move to Kyōto and then to Kantō. Instead, he had to choose his place of residence carefully and make proper preparations for the journey. Such a task may easily have required two extra years after the end of the exile. In the year 1213 Shinran with his family departed for the Kantō region. [77]

Shinran's Evangelistic Motivation.—Although Shinran avoided direct propagation of his Pure Land faith for political or economic reasons in Echigo, it is quite clear from his activity on the way to Kantō that he had not at all forgotten his initial religious impulse, and his desire to help all beings gain enlightenment. Rather, the experience of lay life intensified his desire to declare the faith to those persons ignored by the traditional schools.

There are a variety of possible political, social and religious reasons which may have dictated his choice of Kantō as the area of his endeavor rather than returning to Kyōto which he knew so well. From the political standpoint, the Pure Land teaching was still prohibited in the capital. Shunjo, Hōnen's biographer, notes that edicts restricting the doctrine where issued at various times from 1213 to 1239. The attitude of the priests of Mount Hiei was so adamant that in 1227 they attempted to destroy Hōnen's tomb and seize his body. [78] The conditions in the capital naturally prevented the free spread of the faith. Of all Hōnen's disciples, only Shōku of the Seizan school returned to teach there. [79] Shinran may also have been encouraged to go to the Kantō region by groups of farmers who may have emigrated from Echigo in

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77) This date is based on calculations made from information in Eshinni's letter, *SSZ.,* V, 101.

78) Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.,* IV, 684-688.

79) Umehara, *Shinranden no Shomondai, op. cit.,* 230.

search of better agricultural conditions. [80]) It has also been pointed out
that he would need an economic basis for his family when he went
to a new area. Hitachi in Kantō appears to fulfill this requirement and
it is coincidental that Miyoshi Tamenori is said to have been a land-
owner not only in Echigo but also in Hitachi. [81])

Perhaps the most important consideration in Shinran's decision was
the religious. During the Echigo exile he had lived close to the com-
mon people. He nurtured a desire to share his faith with them. Unable
to return to Kyōto and unwilling to compromise his convictions, he
turned his eyes to the newly developing region. The *Denne* ascribes a
strong evangelistic impulse to his decision and interprets the vision
which Shinran received in Rokkakudō to this mission. In the course of
the vision he saw the great masses of people in eastern Japan to whom
he must declare the message that would assure them salvation. [82]) The
Tantokumon interprets the term Gutoku which was adopted by Shinran
as part of his name in relation to this mission. The term signified the
mode of humble living of the peasants which, according to Shinran, was
the true mode of Buddhist wisdom in the degenerate Last Age. Thus
he desired to live on the same level with the peasants who worked in
the fields. [83])

In the light of his inner transformation which wiped out all priestly
and monkish ways which he had known for over twenty years, Shinran
was probably attracted to the Kantō region as the most fertile field for
the proclamation of his new religious standpoint. It is thus possible to
regard his decision as based on an evangelistic purpose rooted deep in
humanitarian regard for the spiritual condition of the multitudes of
people destitute of education and understanding. Some evidence of this
concern may be seen in the postcript of his *Yuishinshomoni*. This pas-
sage parallels the concern for the common man revealed in the *Jōei
Formulary*. The Formulary states:

> ...we have written the Formulary in such a way that even the most illit-
> erate fellows can understand its meaning. The old laws are like complicated
> Chinese characters the new laws like the simple syllabary (*kana*). [84])

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80) *Ibid.*, 231-236. Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.*, 41-43.
81) Kazuo Kasawara, "Tōgoku ni okeru Shinran," *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*,
I, 86.
82) *SSZ.*, III, 640-641.
83) *Ibid.*, 662.
84) Sansom, *op. cit.*, 397.

In similar vein Shinran wrote:

> Because the peasants (country folk) do not know the meaning of (Kanji)
> characters and their pitiable ignorance is boundless, I have often written the
> same thing over and over so they may understand easily. Those who are
> intelligent may think it ridiculous, and they may scoff. However, I have writ-
> ten with the single purpose (to permit) the dull person to understand easily.
> I do not take notice of the criticisms of those people in general (who have
> knowledge). [85])

Shinran's desire to bring salvation to the multitudes in the eastern
regions is revealed in an illuminating experience that transpired as he
travelled from Echigo to Kantō in 1213. [86]) At that time, he made a
vow to benefit beings through the recitation of the thousand parts of
the Pure Land sutras. However, after beginning to fulfill the pledge,
he reconsidered it and came to the conclusion that the true way to re-
quite the grace of Amida Buddha was to cause others to believe what
he believed himself. In other words, he felt a strong urge to witness
to his faith directly to the people in order to have them share in the
joy and peace that he knew himself. In addition, the recitation of the
sutras was a practice which was believed to assist in the cultivation of
faith in the Pure Land School. Such a practice implied that reliance on
the name of Amida Buddha alone was not entirely sufficient for salva-
tion.

The incident reveals two points concerning Shinran's spiritual devel-
opment at the end of the Echigo period. In the first place we observe
the appearance of his strong evangelistic impulse which reflects the in-
tensity of his own faith. Secondly we notice that he rejected all sub-
sidiary practices, once and for all, and relied only on the way of recita-
tion of Amida Buddha's name. In this rejection the central theme of
Shinran's view of faith begins to appear. Nevertheless his thought was
still in a state of evolution, but it is clear that he was coming to some
far reaching conclusions about Pure Land doctrine. [87])

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85) *SSZ.*, II, 683, 619-620.
86) *Ibid.*, V, 101-102.
87) Kazuo Kasawara, "Kyōgyōshinshō no Seiritsu," *Shinshū Kyōdan no Ten-
kai, op. cit.*, 20-24, stresses the role of Shinran's anxiety in relation to his faith to
the development of his thought. The incident related by Eshinni is seen in the
light of this continuing anxiety, and he infers that Shinran arrived at his view
of faith early.

Shinran's Disciples.—When Shinran arrived in Kantō, he made his center at Inada in Kasama. [88]) During his residence there, he appears to have made journeys into neigboring areas at Hitachi, Shimosō, Shimozuke and Musashi. He attracted a body of followers from the upper and lower classes, and from clerical and lay groups. There are many legends of temples which he is reputed to have established. [89]) Even some opposition is indicated in the legend of the conversion of the monk Myohōbo who was a yamabushi, a type of monk engaged in severe ascetic practices such as sleeping in fields, prostrating on mountains in order to gain merit and spiritual insight. [90]) This mode of religious devotion represents the utmost in self power practice, but according to the legend, Shinran was successful in converting him. [91])

Disregarding the legends which emphasize Shinran's success, we can be certain that he did create a considerable following. There are various lists of disciples such as the *Shinranmonryokōmeichō*, [92]) and the *Nijuyonhaichō,* as well as a list of fifty one persons given in the *Shōtoden*, [93]) and the mention of various people in his letters. According to the *Shinranmonryokōmeichō*, forty eight disciples are given with their locations. A summary indicates that twenty lived in Hitachi, five in Shimosō, six in Shimozuke, one in Musashi, six in Iwashiro, one in Rikuchū, and one in Echigo. Added to the Kantō disciples, eight are listed from Kyōto. When repetitions are deleted, the *Nijuyonhaichō* yields six names. The letters of Shinran present twenty more disciples. Thus a total of seventy four disciples are clearly known in the tradition. Five of these became heretics reducing the total to sixty nine true disciples. Three were women and sixty six were men. The distribution of the disciples shows that his work centered about the area of Hitachi. Further the number of followers includes probably only the leading ones, and like Chū Tarō of Ōbu who was a leader of some ninety people, they represent a far greater base among the people. [94])

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88) *SSZ.*, III, 648.

89) Yamada, *op. cit.*, 119-123.

90) Hakuju Ui, *Bukkyō Jiten* (Tōkyō: Tōsei Shuppansha, 1938-1953), 1068.

91) *SSZ.*, III, 649.

92) Yusetsu Fujiwara, "Shinran Shōnin Montei no Chiriteki Bumpu," *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.*, II, 134. Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin Gyōjitsu, op. cit.*, 116-130.

93) *Ibid.*, I, 219-220.

94) *Ibid.*, II, 135-139.

More important than the number of the disciples that Shinran gained
during his residence in Kantō is the character and general social class
of those men. From what we have already seen of his views and atti-
tudes we know that he intended to identify himself closely with the
multitudes of ordinary people in the eastern provinces. He was also
critical of contemporary Buddhism and implicitly the society that sup-
ported it. Because of his intention, his critical attitude and the general
nature of his teaching, is has been thought that he was a religious
spokesman for the lower classes as opposed to the upper, propertied
class. Consequently Shinran's doctrine and activity have been closely
scrutinized for indications of the particular segment of Kantō society to
which he appealed. It is to be noted also that modern issues pervade the
discussion. Modern Japanese scholars are attempting to assess Shin-
ran's religion in its social dimension, and therefore to determine the
significance of that doctrine for present day problems in Japan. With
this extra-historical interest, it is to be expected that the theories of
scholars may be influenced by their judgment on contemporary issues.
It will be helpful here if we take account of some of the leading theo-
ries. Such scholars as Shisō Hattori, Saburō Ienaga, Kazuo Kasawara
and Shunshu Akamatsu are important writers on this problem. They
are particularly concerned to discover the social class of the disciples
and to define Shinran's concept of nationalism. We shall attempt to
determine the social character of the few fellowship, and in a later
section we shall take up the question of Shinran's nationalism.

The discussion of the social status of Shinran's followers has been
enlivened by Shisō Hattori's views which are dictated by Maxist con-
siderations and the assumption of a class struggle. He asserts that the
chief support for Shinran came from the "new farmers" who had emi-
grated from Echigo to Kantō. [95] These farmers were distinguished
from the original farmers in the land, and they suffered from heavy
exactions and demands of the land-owners. Hattori sees behind Shin-
ran's teaching the basic division of society into rulers and ruled. For him,
Shinran's attitudes and teaching were all conditioned by the fact that
"Shinran was earnestly with the farmers." [96]

According to Hattori, the social conditions of Japan in that time were
parallel with those in Europe when Luther appeared. Japan had its own

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95) Hattori, *op. cit.*, 126.
96) *Ibid.*, 85.

Rome, pope and clergy. The nobles, and heads of clans and manors, exploited the farmers at every turn. [97]) However, Shinran rejected this basic social organization and its political theory. Hattori states:

> Shinran's doctrine did not stress at all "Submission" to absolute mundane authority. He made the concept of human sin and evil the basis of his view just as Luther did. It was Kakunyo and Rennyo who intruded the concept that "Imperial Law is the foundation" into the doctrine of the founder (Shinran). It is not in Shinran's doctrine. On the contrary "The Imperial Law is the foundation" is a watchword of the old orders of Hieizan and Nara. By it the mundane basis of the temple-manorial system was maintained. Shinran rejected both temples and temple possessions. [98])

These views have aroused stimulating studies and views into the nature of the society and Shinran's community. In consequence of these investigations, other scholars have sought to show that Shinran's teaching could appeal to other segments of Kantō society besides the poor, ignorant farmers. An interesting example of the new approach to this problems is Saburō Ienaga who agrees with Hattori on many points. [99]) Ienaga raises the question whether Shinran's religious content can be defined as Hattori does simply by determining its social basis. For Ienaga, the attraction of Shinran lay in his individuality. He maintains it is not sufficient to view Shinran in terms of the social conditions alone. This is useful for historical study, but it cannot exhaust the significance of his teaching.

In line with this thought Ienaga attempts to show that Shinran was in touch with people of various classes when he lived in Kantō. While the farmers may have been the most numerous, he feels it is an error to maintain that Shinran always judged things from the side of the farmer against the lords of the land. To generalize on a specific situation is an error. He calls attention to the fact that the appearance of such men as Shimushi Nyūdō Dono and Shōnenbo in Shinran's letters indicates

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97) *Ibid.*
98) *Ibid.,* 68.
99) Saburō Ienaga, *Chūsei Bukkyō Shisōshi Kenkyū, op. cit.,* 201-209, notes that Hattori has presented a clear explanation of the social background of Shinran, and he further agrees in distinguishing the thought of Shinran and the later views and actions of the Honganji organization. He credits Hattori with the epochal theory that Shinran rejected completely the idea that religion exists merely for the sake of the protection and prosperity of the state (Gokoku Shiso).

that he also had relation to the class of warriors. He claims that there were some men of considerable means and wealth in the fellowship.

Questioning Hattori's theory that Shinran represented the farmers alone, Ienaga begins with an analysis of the concept of the evil man and his salvation formulated by Shinran. He assays by this study to discover which class might have had this consciousness of evil, and would be attracted to him. Rather than the farmers, Ienaga suggests the warriors:

> The reason is that since the connection of the self awareness of the evil man and faith in rebirth grew within a process of development in the religious existence of the warrior (Bushi) class, we may expect that even Shinran's theory that "the evil man is the true cause (or object of salvation)" was not unrelated also to that stream of thought. [100])

It is his contention that the warrior life assisted the formation of the theory of the primacy of the evil man in Shinran's thought, but he does not intend to infer that the theory was aimed chiefly at that class. The existence of such a class and the struggles that embroiled the age were the foundation for the appearance of the thought. [101])

In a manner similar to Ienaga, Kazuo Kasawara sees elements of truth in Hattori's views. He agrees that the farmers were in opposition to the lords of the land, [102]) and also contends that it would have been impossible for the rulers to accept Shinran's teaching since that doctrine with its emphasis on Lay Buddhism (Zaike Bukkyō) and centered in a place of practice (Dōjō) was a unifying factor among the farmers. The egalitarian tendency and the implicit denial of the traditional gods of the land appeared as a threat to the position of the rulers. He adds that if men of status had been attracted in any large numbers, persecution would have been impossible. Rather than the "new farmers" proposed by Hattori, Kasawara suggests that the basic foundation of Shinran's fellowship were the resident farmers, along with their servants, who had little hope of bettering their circumstances in that society. [103])

In contrast to these views which seek the basic component of Shinran's religious community in one element of society, Shunshu Akamatsu suggests that Shinran's fellowship embraced diverse elements.

100) *Ibid.*, 204, 206.
101) *Ibid.*, 207.
102) Kazuo Kasawara, *Shinran to Tōgoku Nōmin* (Tōkyō: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1957), 282.
103) *Ibid.*, 286-297.

He agrees that the sense of sin might be stronger among warriors, fishermen, and hunters than among farmers, but he would not exclude the farmers. In addition, he points out that the community probably included persons of the merchant class. This conclusion is based on the fact that several of Shinran's disciples had means to travel to Kyotō. Further in the time of Rennyo (1415-1499), the merchant class dominated the order. He thinks that the Dōmin, who were once thought to refer to the permanent, residential farmers, may also have included merchants. 104)

Akamatsu's investigation of the social status of particular members of Shinran's fellowship shows that farmers, retainers, warriors, servants, and merchants participated. He notes that those individuals who were able to read and understand Shinran's writings, and hold positions of leadership must have been persons of higher than ordinary status. 105)

As these theories indicate, Shinran's teaching had aspects which attracted men of various classes. The teaching itself does not manifest the national, social foundation that inspired it. Through the diversity of scholarly opinion we are able to observe the implicit universalism of his thought. It also reveals that social definition does not assure the complete understanding of a system of thought.

While it is not possible to ascertain that Shinran was allied with one class against another, and while his doctrine transcends class distinctions, this does not mean that it cannot be made to serve the interests of some class 106) or that it is without social implications.

From the study of the various theories concerning the social foundation of Shinran's community of faith, and the general nature of his teaching, we may conclude that his followers in large part were probably from the lower classes. Japanese society was governed by a strong

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104) Shunshu Akamatsu, *Kamakura Bukkyō no Kenkyū* (Kyōto: Byorakuji Shoten, 1957), 71.

105) *Ibid.*, 69-71: Also Shunshu Akamatsu, "Shinran no Shokan ni tsuite," *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.*, II, 3. In the same volume in the essay "Shinran to Deshi-tachi," 125-133, Akamatsu gives details on the lives of the disciples.

106) See *Living Buddhism in Japan.* Bulletin of the International Institute for the Study of Religions, Vol. 6-2 (May 1959), 19-20. An incident is related in which the president of a silk thread company made the woman workers say the Nembutsu in gratitude for various gifts from the employer, rather than being concerned over low wages.

class consciousness and a clear distinction between the ruler and the
ruled. In such circumstances, it is highly unlikely that Shinran's prin-
ciple of equality before the Vow of Amida Buddha would be supported
by the upper classes when it was translated into social reality. Egali-
tarian movements frequently receive support from the lower classes,
though the spokesmen of the movement are often men of high ideals
from the upper classes. The simplicity of worship, and ecclesiastical
organization in the earliest Shinshū community implies a lower class
following since the economic problems of elaborate ritual and clergy
are absent. Shinran never established a temple, and the original place
of worship appears to have been a modified home. [107]

In conclusion we can state that Shinran's teaching does not evidence
particular class consciousness, but his teaching of the universal com-
passion of Amida Buddha and the requirement of faith alone at-
urally attracted followers from the lower classes who had nothing to
offer except their devotion. It was his earnest desire to bring spritual
help to the multitudes of his time. Though he was not politically or
socially inspired, his deep identification with the peasants and ordinary
citizens conditioned the formulation of his doctrine.

The *Kyōgyōshinshō* Compilation.—During Shinran's period of resi-
dence in Kantō he compiled the *Kyōgyōshinshō* which is a monumental
anthology of passages drawn from sutras, treatises and commentaries
to illuminate the basis teachings of Pure Land thought. [108] Probably
since the day of his conversion to Hōnen's teaching and throughout his
activity as a teacher, he had been stimulated to clarify his faith to him-
self and to organize it. The notes mentioned earlier which he made to
the sutras indicate his scholarly nature. [109]

There are many theories about the time and place of compilation,
but it is safe to say that it was the result of a long process. No specific
date can be attached to it, since Shinran himself did not date it as he
had done in his other writings. However, scholars have generally agreed
that the date 1224, which appears in the last volume in relation to the
calculation of the onset of the period of the Last Age in the decline of

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107) Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.,* 154-155. Yamada, *op. cit.,*
118-125.
108) Reimon Yuki, "Kenjōdoshinjitsukyōgyōshomonrui ni tsuite," *Shinran
Zenshu, op. cit.,* VI, 4. *Shinshu Yogi* (Kyōto: Ryukoku Daigaki, 1928), II, 90.
109) See above p. 72.

the Dharma, must have an intimate relation to the production of the work itself. According to a tradition given in the *Shōtoden*, this time is considered the time when Shinran set down the whole work. [110]) While the scholars see importance in the date, they have different views on what was written at that time.

Many motives have been ascribed to Shinran which led him to writing the book. It is not certain, as some scholars hold, that he intended to criticize heretics among Hōnen's followers, [111]) or that he aimed to pronounce judgment on the legalistic Buddhism which constantly obstructed the Pure Land teaching. [112]) Nor is it certain that Shinran intended the work purely for his own benefit in which he overcame anxieties concerning the truth of his teaching by gathering passages from various texts which he could use to support his ideas. All of these suggestions have some insight and can find some justification in the work itself. However, they do not appear to be the dominant motives which led to its formation.

There are several indications that the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was Shinran's attempt to give adequate expression to the Pure Land teaching which he had received from Hōnen and which had brought peace and joy to his own life. Testimony to this intention can be found in all sections of the work. The term *Kyōgyōshinshō* is a shortened title, and one given to the work by later writers. The name given by Shinran was *Kenjodōshinjitsu-kyōgyōshōmonrui*, that is, an anthology exposing the true teaching, practice, and attainment of the Pure Land (school). Attention is drawn to the term Ken 顯頁, in Japanese, arawasu. It means to reveal, express, exhibit, or prove.

In the preface to the work Shinran exclaimed:

> O, how happy I, Gutoku Shinran, now am. The sacred books of India and the commentaries of the teachers of China and Japan are hard to meet, but I have now been able to meet them. I reverently believe in the teaching, practice and attainment of the true teaching, and I have particularly known the deep things of the Tathagata's virtue and grace. Thus, I rejoice at what I have heard and praise what I have received. [113])

110) *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.,* I, 223.
111) Nakazawa, *Shinshū Genryūshiron, op. cit.,* 245.
112) Kasawara, *Shinran to Tōgoku Nōmin, op. cit.,* 204-215. For discussion of various aspects of possible motivation see Shugaku Yamabe and Chizen Akanuma, *Kyōgyōshinshō Kōgi,* I (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1952), 19-24.
113) *SSZ.,* II, 1.

This passage makes clear Shinran's sense of obligation to Amida Buddha and the teaching of former sages of the Pure Land tradition. In order to praise the compassion of the Buddha, he brought together the teachings of the masters and through them organized his own teaching. He constantly declared that his work was simply an expression of his gratitude. [114]

It is clear that Shinran's main intention for compiling the work was to express and organize Pure Land teaching in line with his evangelistic purpose. While he was aware of opposition to Pure Land teaching, his concern was not one merely of refutation.

As a literary document, we have pointed out that the *Kyōgyōshinshō* is an anthology of passages from various sources. He may have chosen this method of giving an exposition of Pure Land thought rather than making a commentary on Hōnen's *Senjakushū*, because he felt the need for a fuller exposition of that teaching than Hōnen's work provided. [115] Undoubtedly, as we shall see in our exposition of his doctrine, he must have been aware of the contradictory elements in traditional Pure Land thought.

Though Shinran employed an abundance of quotations to which he added his few comments, it is evident that he desired to present a unified theory of Pure Land teaching. The quotations he used were those that had attracted him in his wide reading. Once inserted within his system they have become his own words and ideas. In many cases he was able to make the passages conform to his teaching because of the flexibility of Chinese grammar and the Japanese method of reading Chinese texts. Such changes are referred by scholars to his individual creative insight through which he was enabled to make significant alterations in a text in accordance with his subjective awareness of faith.

Shinran's special contribution to the organization of Pure Land doctrine in the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was his expansion of the traditional system of Teaching, Practice, and Attainment to four principles with the interposition of Faith between Practice and Attainment. [116]

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114) *Ibid.*, 43, 203.
115) Yuki, *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.*, VI, 19-23.
116) Reimon Yuki, "Kyōgyōshinshō Shinkan Bessenron no Yōshi," *Kyōgyō-shinshō no Senjutsu no Kenkyū, op. cit.*, 80-82, argues from the title of the work *Kenjodoshinjitsukyogyoshomonrui* that Shinran originally projected a work fol-

Through this change in organization, Shinran sought to make clear the importance and indispensability of faith in the realization of birth in the Pure Land. It was the exaltation of faith which became the basis for the epochal developments which Shinran brought to Pure Land thought.

As many scholars have pointed out, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was essentially an unfinished work. Shinran continued to add new texts, make alterations and revisions in order to give stronger support to his teaching. It became the source book which was the basis for his other writings. Though different in form, the other writings were all dependent on this work. The text of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was initially written in Kambun, the Chinese style. However, in order to make its teaching accessible to those with little education, Shinran also copied it in Nobegaki form. His Wasan, hymns, popularized its themes so that they could be sung and become a part of the consciousness of the lowliest individual.

We may conclude this section on Shinran's work in Kantō by pointing out the great achievements he made. He left behind him an enduring body of disciples devoted to him and to his teaching. While he made no impression on the larger stream of history that surrounded him, the seeds that he had sown were destined to bear fruit in a later age when the ecclesiastical organization was established. His teaching had spoken to the lives of these disciples, because he had lived with them and his doctrine filled a spiritual need. As we have seen from our discussion of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, Shinran also gave an initial formulation to his teaching. It seems clear that he arrived at the basic outline of his doctrine and had become aware of the meaning and role of faith long before he returned to Kyōto where he gave himself to defining and explaining his teaching. The themes that he developed in his correspondence with the disciples and the heresies which he condemned were not entirely new to him in Kyōto. He had taught these ideas and he had encountered heresy even while in Kantō. Thus the Kantō period was a very productive and fruitful time for him. His ministry of some twenty years came to an end, however, when he decided to return to Kyōto to spend the last years of his life.

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lowing the traditional scheme of three principles, but later in Kyōto put it together with the volume on Faith which had been produced separately at a different time.

Shinran Returns to Kyōto

The Period of Definition of Doctrine (1235?-1262).

Shinran's Return to Kyōto.—Shinran's later years in Kyōto are a significant and integral part of his total career. Though it is often termed a retirement, it does not mean a period of complete inactivity. The literary evidences indicate that he changed his mode of teaching, not that he stopped teaching. In terms of the future, it might be said that these were the determinative years, because he placed in writing, and hence in permanent form, those teachings which are distinctive of Shinshū. The comparative leisure and ease that he enjoyed permitted him to engage in this work. The various historical and religious questions which arise during this period form the background and context for the literary activity.

Shinran returned to Kyōto in, or around, the year 1235 when he was sixty two or sixty three years old. [117] The precise reasons for his return were probably various and now obscure. We may suppose that somehow he yearned for the life of the capital from which he had been separated for so many years. The literary output of these years suggests that he envisioned such activity in contrast to the direct teaching which had absorbed his time in Kantō. It has also been suggested that perhaps he wished to avoid becoming the center of a large organization as its leader, or that he may have felt that the time was ripe to leave the community of believers under the guidance of the close disciples. This would give him the opportunity to develop his own spiritual life. Somewhere within him a change of heart is seen which caused him to turn his back on the thriving fellowship. Nowhere does he explain his reasons, and scholars have speculated on every possibility such as a family rupture, [118] the need of a daughter for assistance, [119] persecutions in the east, [120] or perhaps to avoid some internal conflict in his own

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117) The time of return has not been precisely recorded. See Ienaga, *Shinran Shonin Gyōjitusu, op. cit.,* 28. Umehara, *Shinran no Shomondai, op. cit.,* 274-280. Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.,* 53-54.
118) Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.,* 54-55.
119) Yamada, *op. cit.,* 146.
120) Matsuno, *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai, op. cit.,* 339.

group. [121]) Perhaps the most plausible focuses attention on his literary efforts. [122])

Whatever the motive may have been, and none of the above theories have universal acceptance, it must have fallen into the category of Shinran's mode of life or religious situation. From the matrix of conditions involved in his work, we may conclude that he saw some benefit for himself and for his followers if he returned to Kyōto. The availability of source materials for study, the escape from direct persecution, the desire to avoid fame and authority, as well as to deepen his own spirit, may all be possible reasons for his return.

Shinran's family probably accompanied him on his long road to Kyōto. While there is no mention specifically of their going there and later they were all living scattered, there is reason to believe that they all made the journey. Eshinni's reference to Uenokindachi, [123]) that is Kakue, Kakushinni's eldest son, and later inquiries about people near to Kakushinni such as Saishodono, Wakasadono, Kakonomae, and Jorenbo [124]) have been interpreted to mean Eshinni knew them well because she was at sometime in Kyōto. Reference was also made by Eshinni to a picture of Shinran which she had apparently seen before and desired. [125]) Kakushinni married Hino Hirotsuna, and when he died, she spent her time caring for her aged father in Kyōto. Zenran also was there, and his son Nyoshin played on his grandfather's lap. [126]) Zenran was sent as Shinran's emissary to the Kantō disciples. [127]) At some time Kenchi of Takada had witnessed a discussion between Zenran and Shinran in Kyōto. [128])

Since Eshinni, Kakushinni, and Zenran appear to have lived in Kyōto with Shinran, it is reasonable to suppose that the other children such as Masukata who came to visit Shinran on his death bed, Shinrembo, and Oguronyobo had also lived there. It has been suggested that economic reasons caused the children to disperse to Echigo. Shinran

121) Fujiwara, *Shinshūshi Kenkyū, op. cit.*, 146-150.
122) Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.*, 73, 75-76. Yamada, op. cit., 147-148.
123) *SSZ.*, V, 113.
124) *Ibid.*, 114-115, also 110-111. See Matsuno, *Shinran, op. cit.*, 407-408.
125) *SSZ.*, V, 103.
126) *Ibid.*, III, 825. Matsuno, *Shinran, op. cit.*, 408.
127) *Ibid.*, II, 705.
128) *Ibid.*, III, 782, 842.

may not have been able to provide for them all in Kyōto. If they were dependent at all upon the disciples for aid, it is more logical that they went to Echigo from Kyōto than from Kantō where there were many more disciples. [129]

Shinran's living conditions were not ostentatious or extremely affluent, but it is probable that he had sufficient means to meet his needs. The evidence is ambiguous so that theories of both poverty and wealth have arisen.

The basis of the theory of poverty has been found in the letters which relate the occasional gifts of the Kantō disciples. Further, the earlier identification of Iyaonna with Kakushinni gave rise to the theory that Shinran had to sell his daughter into servitude. [130] Another evidence was sought in the request of Shinran on behalf of Imagozennohaha and Sokushōbo. It appears in that instance that he was not able to do anything for them himself. [131] Finally, he had to rely on the kindness of his brother and was without fixed residence. This poverty is laid in part to the loss of property and wealth of the Hino family in the Shokyū disturbance (1219-1221). [132]

On the other hand, there are indications that Shinran may have been fairly well off. The opinion of almost all scholars at present rejects the identification of Iyaonna with Kakushinni. This removes the theory that he sold his daughter into servitude. Rather, Iyaonna is a servant girl, and thus an evidence of economic sufficiency. [133]

The request of aid for Imagozennohaha has also been challenged. She has been identified with Kakushinni by some scholars, and the letter seeking aid as a last request by Shinran to his disciples just before he died. [134] Thus the request for aid is not considered from the standpoint of poverty, but from the fatherly concern of Shinran for his daughter who will be left behind.

Some indications of more affluent circumstances may also be seen in the portraits which were made of Shinran when he was alive. The

129) Matsuno, *Shinran, op. cit.*, 407-410. Also Matsuno, "Kirakugo no Shinran Ikka," *Shinran Zenshu, op. cit.*, I, 106-107.

130) Kemmyo Nakazawa, *Shijō no Shinran, op. cit.*, 163. Hattori, *op. cit.*, 98-99. Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.*, 111-112.

131) *SSZ.*, II, 725-727. Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.*, 85-103.

132) Yamada, *op. cit.*, 151.

133) Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.*, 113.

134) Akamatsu, *op. cit.*, 3-28.

most famous are the *Anjogoe* and *Kagamigoe*. They depict him in his everyday attire. The clothing and the setting do not indicate poverty.

Another evidence is found in the fact that the paper which Shinran used to write to the disciples was of good quality and written only on one side. In that time the use of both sides was common and economical because paper was expensive. [135]

The gifts given by followers were substantial, since there were probably wealthy merchants and people of other classes who could give considerable amounts. The frequency of gifts, however, cannot be determined, but it may be assumed that there were more than those which are recorded. Since they were voluntary, the amount would not be stabilized, but it is fair to assume in the light of Japanese respect of obligation that the teacher-pupil relationship would involve also some concern and provision for the aged master. The voluntary aspect is reflected in Shinran's deep gratitude for their kindness.

After all the evidences have been mustered, there is no clear evidence that Shinran himself was very wealthy, but it is certain that he had sufficient resources to maintain himself and to carry on his study and writing. He was not poor, but not ostentatiously rich. He lived dependent on disciples, and whatever independent income he may have had cannot be determined.

Something of a religious and moral aspect enters the discussion also. Those who wish to emphasize the simplicity and austerity of his life are likely to stress his poverty. Those who object to the idea that he had to sell his daughter into servitude in order to exist seek for evidence of wealth.

Literary Activity in Kyōto.—After Shinran became settled in the capital, he took up his pen to give lasting form to his thought. [136] Just when we should consider the beginning of his literary production is not entirely clear. He made copies of important Pure Land texts, the *Yuishinshō* of Seikaku in 1235, 1241 and 1246, and the *Jirikitarikinokoto* of Ryūkan also in 1246. His own first datable literary creations were a series of poems, the *Jōdowasan*, extolling the Pure Land, and the *Kōsōwasan*, praising the patriarchs of the Pure Land tradition. These were produced around 1248. It can be seen from the chronology that there

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135) Miyazaki, *Shinran to Sono Montei, op. cit.*, 114-116.

136) Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin Gyōjitsu, op. cit.*, 32-95, gives detailed chronology of these texts.

was a period of some ten years in which no text appeared. It has been suggested that this was the time when he devoted his attention to the completion of the *Kyōgyōshinshō.*

From the beginning of the appearance of these texts Shinran carried on a continuous activity of writing from his seventy sixth year, 1248, to his eighty eighth year, 1260. Besides texts of his own composition and copies, he also carried on correspondence with his Kantō disciples.

Throughout his teaching career Shinran endeavored to relate himself to the traditional Pure Land teaching. In the course of his dealings with the disciples he had occasion to refer to several works and to make copies of them for their use. We have already mentioned the *Yuishin-shō,* first copied in 1235, and then later in 1241, 1246 and 1254. To-gether with this he composed a type of commentary on the text called the *Yuishinshōmon*i which appeared in 1251 and copied again in 1256 and 1257. Ryūkan's *Jirikitarikinokoto* was copied first in 1246 and was followed by the *Gosemonogatari,* usually attributed to Ryūkan in 1254 and the *Ichinentannenfumbetsunokoto* by Ryūkan in 1255. Commen-tary to this latter text, called either *Ichinentannenmoni* or *Ichinenshō-mon,* was composed in 1257. Other works which he copied ranged from a Nobegaki copy of Shan tao's parable on the two rivers in 1254 and several pieces of Hōnen's writings such as the *Saihōshinanshō,* 1257, *Sambukyōdaii,* 1258, and the first volume of the *Senjakushū* in Nobe-gaki, 1259. He also made a copy of Shōtoku Taishi's biography in 1257, entitled *Jōgutaishigoki.*

Shinran's own writings are the *Kyōgyōshinshō* whose earliest copy was made by Sonren in 1247. The *Jōdomonruishushō* appeared in 1252. In his eighty third year, 1255, he produced the *Gutokushō, Jōdosangyō-ōjōmonrui, Songeshinzōmeimon* and the *Kōtaishinshōtokuhōsan.* In 1256 he wrote the *Nyūshutsunimonge,* and in 1257 he penned the *Shōzō-matsuwasan* as the result of a dream. In the eighty sixth year the famous *Jinenhōnishō* appeared and in the eighty eighth year the *Midanyorai-myōgotoku* was written. Many of these works were copied and given to various disciples in the Kantō area for the purpose of teaching and to prevent heresy.

Parallel with this literary activity, Shinran carried on a considerable correspondence with his disciples. Through his letters he was able to answer specific questions or to deal with problems that arose occasion-ally in the various fellowships. The letters afford us some insight into

the activities of his latter years, but more than that, they reveal more clearly the mind and personality of Shinran himself. A leading scholar of Shinran studies has given an apt summary of the true significance of these letters:

> The later thirty seven letters were given to all the disciples. The leaders of the "place of practice (Dōjō)" who stood between Shinran and the disciples inquired of him about unclear points of doctrine or reported the tense social relations. Shinran responded to their requests for instruction and taught them gently. These letters relate, clearly and concretely, the fundamental thought of Shinran's religion. Through them the nature of the faith of the leaders and the disciples was clarified as they desired. It is well to study the *Kyōgyō-shinshō* in order to know Shinran's religion as doctrine or as a system and tradition. To get it in just a word, we can repeatedly read the *Tannisho*. However, in order to know what kind of counter-influences the gospel of absolute Tariki brought about in those who accepted it, and how that influenced Shinran's action and thought, in other words, when we try to make clear the constitution of Shinran's religion historically and socially, we must, above all, study his letters. [137]

As this scholar indicates, there is a difference between the general writings of Shinran and his letters. The writings lack the controversial and tendentious character which appears in the letters, though there were elements of heresy and contention in the background. The writings aim merely to set forth the doctrine itself for the purpose of edification, instruction, and exposition. As many are simply anthological in character, they are designed to provide the bases and supports for his essential insights. They do not reveal Shinran himself. However, the letters are directed to specific persons and problems, and there we meet the individual Shinran attempting to guide, warn or encourage his followers.

The extant letters which Shinran wrote and are now collected into various groupings indicate that he carried on a fairly active correspondence concerning doctrinal problems, and also some personal matters. Though the epilogue of the *Ketsumyakumonshu* records that there were ninety letters, [138] there now remain only forty three of which eleven are original copies and the rest are copies made by other individuals.

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137) Shunshu Akamatsu, "Shinran no Shokan ni tsuite," *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, 7-8.

138) Jushin Washiyama, "Goshosoku ni shinobu Bannen no Shinran Shonin (1)," XXXI-1 (February 1952), 55.

The forty three letters which are generally recognized as belonging to Shinran are gathered into five collections. The two major assemblies are the *Mattōshō* which has twenty one entries and the *Shinranshōnin-goshōsokushū* which has ten entries. Other collections are the *Zenshō-bōgoshōsokushū* with seven letters, the *Ketsumyakumonshū* with five letters, and the *Ishūshinsekigoshōsokushū* with six letters. Since the same letter may appear also in more than one collection, we get a total of forty three discounting duplicates. [139]) Apart from these letters, Washiyama calls attention to the letter of disowning written to Zenran and later copied by Kenchi, a patriarch of the Takada school, and two letters addressed to one Shinjōbo which belong to the Senjuji of the Takada school. [140])

Shinran's earliest correspondence is placed by scholars in 1243 with a letter to Ōgozen concerning Iyaonna, his servant girl. Since this letter ha no date appended to it, such a date can only be conjectured. [141]) A letter referring to one Shōamidabutsu and one to Kakushinni appearing in other collections are placed in 1243 and 1250 respectively. These letters also have no date indicated. The major period for Shinran's letters, if we exclude the conjectured dates given here, extends from 1251 to about 1262 when he died. [142])

From 1251 to 1254 or 1255, Shinran's disciples were troubled by a heresy designated as "Mindfulness versus Mindlessness." Both of these extremes were regarded as erroneous by Shinran. Other errors that appeared were antinomianism and the problem of the single recitation of Amida Buddha's name versus the multiple recitation of the name. Nine letters were devoted to these doctrinal problems.

The letters from the period 1255 to 1256 relate chiefly to the Zenran incident in which Shinran finally had to disown his eldest son because he had disrupted the fellowship. In this connection we also gain in-

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139) The numbering here follows that of the *SSZ.*, II.

140) Washiyama, *op. cit.*, 56.

141) *Ibid.*, 57. The authenticity of these letters is also uncertain.

142) *Ibid.*, 58-62. Washiyama presents a detailed chart which gives the pertinent chronological data and relates the letters to other writings of Shinran. Other attempts to determine the chronology may be found in Gyoshin Hosokawa, "A Study of the Epistles of Shinran," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū,* II-2 (March 1954), 645-647, III-1 (September 1954), 203-205, III-2 (March 1955), 579-581. Hattori, *op. cit.*, 110-114. Yamada, *op. cit.*, 159-160. Akamatsu, *Kamakura Bukkyō no Kenkyū, op. cit.*, 29-59.

sight into the persecution of Pure Land teaching by the Kamakura
Shōgunate, and Shinran's general attitude to persecution. The complex
problem of Zenran's activity and the persecution becomes clearer when
the chronological order of the letters is determined. Deducing from the
contents, the order has been worked out by scholars with some little
variation. [143] Hattori's analysis of the thirteen letters provides us with
a general outline and background of the problem.

A third group of letters coming after 1255 includes thirteen letters
which deal mainly with doctrinal problems. The questions raised by the
disciples center on some relatively new doctrines which Shinran had
begun to teach. One of these concerned the fact that salvation is assured
in the present life because it is entirely dependent on the work of Amida
Buddha. It appears in these latter years that Shinran must have given
considerable reflection to the meaning of the life of faith and the des-
tiny of believers. He applied the full implications of his understanding
of faith to all areas of the believer's experience.

When the letters of Shinran have been surveyed and organized they
yield a fairly comprehensive view of the activities of his later years
in Kyōto. We shall direct our attention to Shinran's relation to his dis-
ciples, to the various problems and questions they addressed to him, and
to the situation resulting in the tragic rejection of Zenran. In connec-
tion with this last problem we shall be able to observe his view con-
cerning religious persecution.

Shinran's Relation to His Disciples.—One of the outstanding indi-
cations of the high regard in which Shinran's disciples held him is the
fact that they sent him gifts of money from time to time in order to
give him material support. His letters indicate that he received at one
time three hundred Mon, [144] at another twenty Kan-mon, [145] two
hundred Mon from Kyonimbo, [146] five Kan-mon from Zenran, [147]
and another unspecified amount. [148]. Their willingness to help and

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143) Hosokawa, "A Study of the Epistles of Shinran," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku
Kenkyū*, III-1, *op. cit.*, 203, offers eight letters. Hattori, *op. cit.*, 110-114 offers
thirteen and Yamada, *op. cit.*, 160 gives seven.
144) *SSZ.*, II, 671-672. A Mon is an ancient coinage said to be one thousandth
of a Kan which is equivalent to ten Sen. It is also given as a farthing.
145) *Ibid.*, 683.
146) *Ibid.*, 698-700.
147) *Ibid.*, 705-706.
148) *Ibid.*, 689-693.

respond to Shinran's requests can be implied when he did not hesitate to request some assistance for Imagozennohaha. [149])

While the sharing of material possessions is a good sign of the bond of fellowship which existed between the disciples and Shinran, the disciples also expressed their sentiments in letters. One such personal expression was written by the disciple Kyōshin:

> Indeed, although I was in the capital (Kyōtō) for some time, I was always in a rush. I deplore the fact that I could not spend time quietly. How I desire that I might purposely come to Kyōto and spend at least five days with you (Shinran). It is because of the (Buddha's) grace that I say this. [150])

Most of all, the determination of Kakushimbo to reach Kyōto shows deep affection which the disciples had for Shinran. Kakushimbo left Kantō for Kyōto with some other disciples. On the way, Kakushimbo fell ill. Even though his life might have been spared had he remained where he was or returned home, his only thought was to die by the side of the master if he must die. Shinran was greatly affected by this display of devotion. Renni wrote:

> I asked him (Shinran) if there was (anything) wrong in this letter. When he read it through he said, "There is nothing in error, it is fine." He wept especially (when he read the part) concerning Kakushimbo. (It seemed) to me that he felt very sad. [151])

Shinran also received visits from a Gento Shiro, [152]) Myōkyō-bo, [153]) Shōshimbo, [154]) Shimbutsu, Kenchi, and Senshimbo. [155]) There were numerous other unidentified visitors such as those who reported to Shinran of the misunderstanding of his teaching about equality with Miroku. [156]) On another occasion some disciples had made the long trip to inquire about Shinran's view of the Pure Land teaching. This may have been in connection with Zenran's claim to have special teaching from his father. [157]) These few references give us indication

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149) *Ibid.*, 725-726.
150) *Ibid.*, 676.
151) *Ibid.*, II, 680.
152) *Ibid.*, 710-711.
153) *Ibid.*, 689.
154) *Ibid.*, 705.
155) *Mikawanembutsusoshonikki, Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, I, 253.
156) *SSZ.*, II, 678.
157) *Ibid.*, 773-775.

of considerable coming and going, and desire for fellowship and instruction by Shinran's disciples.

On Shinran's side, we can observe great warmth and affection toward the disciples. He expresses sympathy with the problem of a disciple and offers kind counsel. 158) In his instruction there is humility and tact. 159) Nevertheless in important matters there is firmness. 160)

The personal element in the relation with disciples spans the great distance of separation. There are greetings to the Lady Nun of Totomi, 161) and Kuge. 162) He welcomes Senshimbo's residence nearer Kyōto. 163) He gives direct answer to a personal question of a disciple. 164) To Yuamidabutsu he expresses his desire to meet him in the Pure Land if he cannot meet here. 165) He is happy when Shōshin has completed his case successfully in Kamakura, but is concerned with Nyūshin's long stay there. 166)

Shinran's Response to Disciples' Questions.—The major portion of Shinran's letters is devoted to the answers which he composed to deal with the varied inquiries concerning the fine points of doctrine which the individual disciple had no authority to define himself. These questions were prompted either by difficulties in comprehending completely particular doctrines of Shinran or by confusions arising when Shinran's thought was interpreted in terms of doctrines of other sects such as Shingon, Zen, or other Pure Land schools. There were also specific heresies arising within Shinran's order which he was called to judge.

Clarification of Doctrinal Issues—The definition of doctrine is the main theme of several of Shinran's letters. When confusions had given rise to disputes, the disciples sent to Shinran in order to obtain a judgment.

It appears that there was some confusion among the disciples as to the precise meaning of Shinran's teaching that the believer in this life

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158) *Ibid.*, 670-671.
159) *Ibid.*, 668-669, 685-689.
160) *Ibid.*, 685-689.
161) *Ibid.*, 793-794.
162) *Ibid.*, 705.
163) *Ibid.*, 671.
164) *Ibid.*, 666-668.
165) *Ibid.*, 672-673.
166) *Ibid.*, 710 and 708 respectively.

is equal to the Tathagata (that is one who is already enlightened, a
Buddha) or to the Bodhisattva Miroku who is destined to be the Bud-
dha of the next era. The problem arose from the similarity of this idea
to the concept of Sokushinjōbutsu which means that one can become a
Buddha in this life through the various disciplines of meditation and
purification. For Shinran, the difference between the two doctrines lay
in the fact that what he taught was based on the work of Amida Buddha
and did not require an individual to undergo the rigorous disciplines,
but only to rely on faith. [167]

In another exchange with the disciple Jōshin, Shinran sympathizes
with his doubts on religious questions. Apparently Jōshin likes things
in ordered conception, but Shinran feels this may end in some pre-
sumption on his part. The faith is inconceivable; it stands beyond the
attempts of man to enclose it in their framework of distinctions and
logic. The attempt to rationalize brings doubt and confusion as when
people try to distinguish the concept "the desire to flee this world" from
the concept "the cause to be born in the Pure Land" both of which are
essentially one thing. [168] A similar situation arises in Kyōmyōbo's in-
quiry about the relation of the Vow and the name. Here Shinran con-
tends that faith is not the product of reasoning, and when the believer
once has faith he should not entangle himself in endless discussions and
debates. [169]

In an exchange with Kakushimbo, Shinran explained the relation of
practice and faith, stressing their inseparability, [170] while on yet an-
other occasion, he rejected the extreme of single recitation versus mul-
tiple recitation of the name of Amida Buddha, maintaining that salva-
tion takes place with one thought or recitation, but it is not limited to
that alone. Whatever practices a man undertakes, they all are to re-
present one's gratitude to Amida Buddha for his salvation. [171]

A general letter to clarify the position of Shinran's thought was di-
rected to the followers in Kasama. [172] In this letter he defined such
basic doctrines as the meaning of self power and Other Power, the

167) *Ibid.*, 666-668, 680-681.
168) *Ibid.*, 670-671.
169) *Ibid.*, 670.
170) *Ibid.*, 671-672.
171) *Ibid.*, 698-700.
172) *Ibid.*, 658-661.

principle of "assertion as non-assertion," the salvation of the evil man, the scope of the Vow, and the principle of equality with the Tathagata. He also urged his followers not to speak ill of other teachings, but to be sympathetic with those who do not believe. They were to be aware of the great obligation which they owed Amida Buddha themselves.

A study of the background of the Kantō region would reveal various religious trends. Shinran's disciples often ran into opposition with other groups and sometimes converts from other sects would bring with them the viewpoints of their previous connection which caused misunderstanding among Shinran's follower. The leading disciples would report these ideas to the master, for though they had the ability to think for themselves and understood the doctrine, they had no authority to give final judgment on any question. Hence they submitted all questions to Shinran.

The problem of the "importation" of alien influences into Shinshū doctrine can be observed in the questions about equality with the Tathagata which could be interpreted along Shingon lines, and the issue of "Mindfulness versus Mindlessness" which reflected Zen influence. The problem of the single and multiple recitation has a background in conflict with other Pure Land schools. [173]

Signs of opposition can be seen in the letter of Yuamidabutsu concerning the allegation that Pure Land devotees are only born in the border land of the Pure Land rather than attaining the highest goal. [174] Shinran maintained that believers attain the highest bliss. In another exchange he denied that believers had to wait for the last moment before death for assurance in their present life on their future attainment of birth, and this is what it means to be equal to the Tathagata. [175]

Specific Heresies Arising in Shinran's Fellowship.—The letters of Shinran indicate that the persecution which his fellowship experienced hinged on two charges. Antinomianism and defamation of the gods furnished the excuse for the officials to restrain this teaching. He appears to have encountered these errors even while he lived in Kantō, but they may have become more widespread after his departure. In no uncertain terms he dissociated himself from these aberrations. At one

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173) Hosokawa, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, II-2 (March 1954), 646-647.
174) *SSZ.*, II, 672-673.
175) *Ibid.*, 685.

point he disclaimed any relation to the ringleader of such activity, Zenshōbo of Kita no Kōri. [176])

The antinomian heresy was based on the teaching that the wicked man may be saved despite his evil nature, and it opened the door to loose ethical action. [177]) Shinran had taught that the central concern of Amida Buddha's compassion was the sinful man, but he denied that he was the source of this erroneous interpretation. [178]) He maintained that it was foolish merely to take a poison because there was an anti-dote. [179])

In face of this heresy, Shinran urged his disciples to keep evil persons at a distance [180]) and to be careful not to give the teaching to persons not versed in the scriptures or the mind of Amida Buddha. Caution must be observed in teaching unprepared minds. [181]) The attitude of a true believer is just the opposite of the careless, evil way:

> It will be a sign that one truly despises the world when the individual, who believes both in the vow and loves to say the Nembutsu, desires together with that not indeed to do evil (deeds) as his mind desires. [182])

Whether or not Shinran was really the source of misunderstanding of the concept of the salvation of the evil man, it is clear that he taught ideas which came perilously close, for he had taught that Amida Buddha's compassion accepted a person despite the evil which he performs in order to allay the fear and guilt to those who may have thought they were beyond the possibility of any salvation. However, he never intended this consoling teaching to be taken as an ethical directive to permit a person to pursue a self indulgent existence.

Against the tendency of the believers to despise their enemies [183]) and to defame the gods and other teachings, [184]) Shinran repeatedly reminded them of their obligation of gratitude to Amida Buddha and to the other Buddhas through whom their salvation had become pos-

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176) *Ibid.*, 682.
177) The Apostle Paul had similar difficulty with the radical implications of his teaching. He wrote in Romans 6 : 1, "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?..."
178) *SSZ.*, II, 682.
179) *Ibid.*, 690-691.
180) *Ibid.*, 692.
181) *Ibid.*, 683.
182) *Ibid.*, 691.
183) *Iibid.*, 681-683, 685-689, 689-693, 703-705; Also 696-697, 700-703, 710-711.
184) *Ibid.*, 658-661, 700-703.

sible. [185]) Gratitude in Shinran's thought is the foundation of the ethical life.

Together with having the proper attitudes and behavior, Shinran repeatedly encouraged his disciples to read recommended texts in order to clarify and deepen their knowledge of the doctrine and to avoid pointless debates and arguments. [186]) Among these recommended texts were the *Yuishinshō*, the *Jirikitariki*, the *Gosemonogatari* and the parable of the Two Rivers. Other authoritative works were T'an luan's commentary on the *Jōdoron*. Shan tao's *Hanjuzammaigyōdōōjōsan*, (also called the *Hanjusan*), *Midakyōgishu, Kangyōshō-Sanzengi*, the chapter on the Sincere Mind, the Hōjisan, and Genchin's *Ōjōyōshū* as well as such works as the *Muryōjukyō, Muryōkukyōnyoraie* and the *Mokurenshomongyō*. [187])

The authority of Hōnen as the basis of his teaching is frequently invoked by Shinran, though it is noticeable that he does not specifically recommend any text of Hōnen's. [188]) The recommendation of the *Yuishinshō* and the *Jirikitariki* which were written by disciples of Hōnen is due to the fact that Shinran believed they reflected Hōnen's thought. [189]) He stressed that those who understood Hōnen's thought best were all in basic agreement, while those who disagreed had all advanced their own individual views. [190])

By such means and counsels Shinran attempted to indicate the clear line of teaching. However, despite his reference to other teachers and literature and appeals to Hōnen's authority, the nature of his letters shows that it was his own influence and leadership which held the key to the solution of these problems.

The Zenran Affair.—The disowning of Zenran, his oldest son, was the last major event which occurred in Shinran's lengthy life. It was also the most tragic and disheartening experience that he must have faced in all his years. The tragedy was, of course, that his oldest son appeared to have conspired against the authority of his father in an apparent attempt to assume control of the religious fellowship. The

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185) *Ibid.,* 660, 696-697, 698-700, 700-703, 710-711.
186) *Ibid.,* 685-689, 695-696, 698-700, 705-707, 707-709.
187) *Ibid.,* 658-661, 661-662, 666-667, 673-674, 674, 674-680, 681-683, 684-685, 689-693, 693-694, 700-703, 703-705, 711-713.
188) *Ibid.,* 658-661, 666-667, 711-713: Also 665.
189) *Ibid.,* 686.
190) *Ibid.,* 687.

discouraging thing for Shinran was that he finally had to resort to the extreme measure of disowning Zenran when he came to understand the situation fully.

We can begin our inquiry into the event by first arranging the relevant letters in proper order and tracing the series of events. We can thus reconstruct the situation and determine more precisely Zenran's character and the doctrine he is alleged to have taught.

The first letter which relates to this problem comes from 1255, the ninth month, the second day, and is addressed to all the followers. The background of the letter is the continuing persecution of the teaching by the government. Shinran expresses his belief that the charges that the believers defame the gods and live in loose ways are only excuses to restrain the movement. In the light of the charges, Pure Land devotees must be especially careful not to be irreligious or to speak ill of any person. He urges his followers not to believe that it is permissible to commit sins just because they are born evil. Finally he exhorts them to pray for their enemies. [191]

Shinran wrote this general letter for all followers to Zenran. It was a response to a letter from his son concerning the mistaken views of one Shingambo. He expresses in the reply his disappointment at Shingambo and simply states that it just doesn't sound like him. In a postscript Shinran asks Zenran to let Shōshin and the others read the text. He is disturbed because Shōshin, and possibly Shingambo, had met with him in Kyōto to discuss this problem, but it persisted. Now Shingambo, a leading disciple, is deeply involved. It is significant that Shinran accepted Zenran's report as truthful though he found it hard to believe. [192]

The letter to the Kasama brethren of the tenth month, the third day, has a background of persecution on the basis of which Shinran set forth basic themes of his teaching. Again he stressed that there was no reason on the part of the believers to defame the gods, slander other sects or the enemies of Pure Land faith. [193]

In a letter whose date is uncertain, Shinran expressed his consternation at a report from Zenran accusing Shimbutsu, Shōshin, and Nyūshin of heresy. These had all been intimate followers of Shinran,

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191) *Ibid.*, II, 700-702.
192) *Ibid.*, 703-705.
193) *Ibid.*, 658-661.

and he simply confessed his disappointment and sorrow at the suggestion.

He realized, however, that it is not possible to make people all think the same way. Since there appeared to be no agreement, there was nothing to discuss. One trace of suspicion can be found when Shinran cautioned about criticising other people. The reports were so hard to believe that he had to reflect also on the source of the charges. [194])

Sometime between the ninth month, second day and the eleventh month, ninth day, Shinran received a report from another source beside Zenran. This news concerned the activity of Zenran, and it related that he had told the people of Kantō that their previous mode of Pure Land devotion was useless. According to the report, Zenran claimed to have received a special teaching from Shinran when he had come down from Kyōto. [195]) With this claim to a special doctrine he had caused ninety people to leave the congregation of Chū Tarō of Ōbu and follow him.

In his letter to Zenran dated eleventh month, ninth day, Shinran asks him how he could have taught such things. In answer to the charge that he, Shinran, had been partial, he declares that he had copied and sent the *Yuishinshō*, the *Gosemonogatari*, the *Jirikitariki* and the parable of the Two Rivers by Shan tao to the disciples. The disappointment is deep. [196]) Nevertheless it is significant that Shinran does not sever his relation with Zenran at this time. He is well aware, however, that Zenran has somehow brought strife into the fellowship. From this point he is not so trustful of Zenran.

The withdrawing of faith in Zenran is clearly revealed in Shinran's letter to Shinjōbo, dated the first month, the ninth day. [197]) In it he sympathizes with Shinjōbo on account of the difficulties he has met in teaching the Pure Land doctrine. However, he warns him against seeking the help of people to prosper the faith on the ground that all true believers should entrust everything to the Buddha. The source of the idea that they should seek the aid of human forces to spread the

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194) *Ibid.*, 706-707.
195) It is uncertain just when Shinran sent Zenran to Kantō as his emissary to help restrain the spread of heresy. He was there probably before the letter dated ninth month, second day of 1256. Before he went he may have received special instructions for dealing with errant disciples. It is his use of his authority and his relation to Shinran that became the source of trouble.
196) *SSZ.*, II, 705-706.
197) *Ibid.*, 707-709.

doctrine appears to have been Zenran, and this suggests that he may
have formed some political alliance in the community in order to
strengthen the doctrine and to restrain anti-social elements in the
fellowship. Shinran relates his surprise that Shinjōbo had believed the
claims of Zenran concerning the special doctrine. He clearly criticizes
and dissociates himself from the teaching given by Zenran.

The culmination of the relationship between Shinran and Zenran
appears in the letter dated the fifth month, twenty ninth day of 1256.
Previous to this time, Shinran had received several reports about Zen-
ran and what he had been teaching. At this time also Shōshin had been
called before the authorities in Kamakura to state the position of Shin-
ran's followers. The singling out of Shōshin marked him as a very
high ranking member of Shinran's fellowship in the Kantō region.
This status made the tragedy more poignant when it is recalled that
Zenran had placed doubts in Shinran's mind concerning Shōshin. On
top of this, Zenran had also accused his mother of some injustice and
had insulted her in a letter to a certain lady of Mibu. The extremity of
this situation made Shinran feel that there was only one solution. He
must disown and completely break off from Zenran. It was not only a
way of punishing Zenran and protecting the fellowship, but, more
seriously, it was an attempt by Shinran to witness to all the brethren
that he was sincere in not giving special teaching to one that he does
not give to all, and that there is only one teaching which he gave. It is a
measure of self-defense and an apology for the misunderstanding and
misuse of his authority.

On the same day as he resorted to the letter of disowning, Shinran
also sent a similar letter to Shōshin. He requested that this letter be
sent to all the followers so they might know clearly where he stood in
the matter. He called the gods to witness his avowal that there was no
secret teaching given Zenran. Further he praised the *Shinshūmonshō*
written by Shōshin, possibly in relation to his defense at Kamakura. He
ended the letter by completely denying any connection or knowledge of
a certain Aimimbo who also had been using Shinran's name as his
authority. [198])

Sometime previous to the fifth month, twenty-ninth day, Shōshin
had probably been summoned to give an account of Shinshū teaching

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198) *Ibid.*, 727-729 (letter of Disowning); 717-719 (letter to Shōshin).

at Kamakura. At the conclusion of a successful defense, he was per-
mitted to return home, whereupon he penned a letter to Shinran. This
letter is dated the sixth month, the first day and it arrived in Kyōto on
the seventh month, ninth day. Shinran replied immediately expressing
his gladness for the safe return. He assured Shōshin that the case was
not his alone, but that he represented all the Pure Land believers. He
maintained that it was a great error for them to ridicule Shōshin or
blame him for their troubles. Shinran praised the way he had stated
his case and agreed fully that Pure Land devotees may recite the name
of Amida Buddha for the sake of their country to show their gratitude
to the Buddha and their desire for peace in the world and the spread of
Buddhist teaching. [199]

When Zenran had been excommunicated, Shōshin and the other dis-
ciples were restored to their former trust, and the persecution began to
subside, [200] Shinran was once again approached on doctrinal problems
such as equality to the Tathagata and the principle of the "assertion as
non-assertion." The letter of Shōshin of the ninth month, seventh day
(of 1256) ended with a statement that he heard reports about conditions
among the followers, and he wat at ease. He rejoiced at the reports
which Shimushi no Nyūdō-dono Shōnenbo had brought him. [201]

Later in the tenth month, tenth day of 1257, Shinran sent a letter to
Shōshin discussing in detail the terms "Company of the Truly As-
sured," the State of True Enlightenment," and "Equality with Miroku"
which refer to the condition of "Being Accepted and Not Rejected" by
Amida Buddha in this life. A similar letter was sent at the same time
to Shimbutsu.[202] In these letters Shinran was expressing his deep
confidence in the disciples by conveying to them his deepest spiritual
insights.

From the enumeration of the aforementioned events described in
these letters, we can reconstruct in some measure the circumstances of
Zenran's heterodoxy and thus perhaps come to understand his character
and Shinran's position in the affair.

As we know from the earlier letters of Shinran, in 1252 there were
people such as Zenshōbo and Shinkembo who were centers of disturb-

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199) *Ibid.,* 696-697.
200) *Ibid.,* 710-711.
201) *Ibid.,* 720-721.
202) *Ibid.,* 661-662; 662-663.

ance in the fellowship. While we do not know the specific content of
their doctrines, there may have been anti-social elements which caused
individuals to reject the traditional gods and Buddhas that stood as
supports for the social life of ancient Japan. Such teachings would very
likely arose opposition and persecution. He knew of such people, and
when persecution came, he recognized that disorderly persons should
be restrained.

Shinran also realized that these heretics could bring the whole move-
ment into disrepute. Over and over in his letters he cautioned his fol-
lowers not to defame the gods and Buddhas or speak ill of any opposi-
tion. They must not give the least excuse to the authorities to restrain
the Pure Land teaching.

In order to help them in this matter, Shinran dispatched his eldest
son Zenran to the Kantō area. Apparently Zenran was given some
authority to try to bring the heretical, disturbing faction into line. This
instruction was perhaps reflected in the report of Zenran that later
reached Kamakura to the effect that Shinran told him "to attack" [203]
the Hitachi Pure Land followers.

When Zenran reached Kantō, he began to send Shinran reports
about the various disciples. In the course of the correspondence he ac-
cused the leading disciples to Shinran. Shinran was in great conster-
nation because he had trust in Zenran, and he was far removed from
Kantō. Possibly due to Zenran's attempt to restrain the anti-social as-
pects of Shinran's teaching, some connection may have been made with
local leaders who were interested in Pure Land teaching, but who
wished to see it purged of its radical elements. These local leaders, may-
be at Zenran's suggestion, sent a report to Kamakura relating the con-
ditions in the area. As a result, Shōshin and Nyūshin were summoned
to Kamakura to defend their teaching. Shōshin made a good defense,
but for some reason Nyūshin was detained longer. When he returned
home, he wrote to Shinran about what he had said in reference to the
Pure Land followers and their attitude to the state.

While Shōshin was in Kamakura and the situation was seemingly be-
coming critical, Shinran received some disturbing reports about Zen-

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203) *Ibid.*, 729. The term sonjiru (Colloq.) has the sense "damage, hurt, injure,
impair" (*Kenkyusha's New Japanese English Dictionary*). The word is quite
strong and may reflect only Shinran's sentiment of chagrin at the action of
Zenran, rather than a direct report of Zenran's words.

ran. He had been using the authority of Shinran to break up congrega-
tions, by claiming a special teaching which only he, Zenran, had re-
ceived from his father. He may have considered strengthening the fel-
lowship by bringing it into line with popular demands of the time.
When Shinran became aware of this activity of Zenran, he immediately
severed relation with him. When he realized his misjudgment of Shōshin,
and the slander of Eshinni, he had only one course to take. As a conse-
quence he sent letters to both Zenran and Shōshin disclaiming Zenran.

After the excommunication of Zenran and the successful defense by
Shōshin, the fellowship could once again continue to develop and
prosper under the capable leadership of Shōshin, Shimbutsu, and
others. The later letters of Shinran reflect the change in the situation
from a hectic, divisive period of turmoil to a tranquil period of growth.
The doctrines of this latter period show development of interest in the
status of the believer in this life after he has been assured of his re-
birth by attaining faith. Shinran's own thought contemplating these
questions reached new heights.

Zenran's character and the nature of his teaching in this affair have
been largely based on conjecture in past inquiries into the subject. He
has been rather maligned by traditional Shinshū scholars who maintain
that it was his ambition to take over the community as a second Shin-
ran. [204] They claim he was filled with nothing but seething ambition.
In consequence of his pride, they relate, he resorted to falsehood by
declaring that he had a special teaching from his father. The way in
which he is said to have insulted his mother has also been adduced as
evidence of his low moral character.

There are, however, things to be said on Zenran's behalf. It does ap-
pear that he had been sent to Kantō by Shinran with some special in-
structions to deal with the chaotic conditions in the fellowship. In some
ways Zenran's use of this authority came into question either through
his own zealousness or through misrepresentation. He was faced with
the problem of restraining anti-social elements which threatened the
existence of the community. It is quite possible that he followed his
fathers instructions with undue severity, and sought to sanction this
activity by appeal to Shinran's authority and particularly by the appeal
that he had special instructions given to him alone. It was on the basis

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204) Yamada, *op. cit.,* p. 162.

of this claim that he had been able to divide Chū Tarō's congregation
and to accuse leading disciples of heresy. [205])

Recent studies of Zenran's activities by Shinshū scholars have drawn
a different picture of him in contrast with the traditional view given
above. According to Kakue Miyaji, Zenran was a man whose person-
ality was somewhat legalistic, and he favored practices of purification.
Against the Pure Land devotees whose doctrines encouraged antinomia-
nism, Zenran asserted that the virtue of faith should be accompanied
by adherence to the Buddhist precepts. It was apparently his view that
the belief in Amida Buddha's universal compassion which saves evil
beings was not meant to deny the need for cultivation of virtue. It is
thought that the precepts he encouraged were the practices of the Shin-
gon school current among the masses of people in that region. [206])

To reinforce Miyaji's interpretation of Zenran's character we may
call attention to the study by Matsuno. He has pointed out the exist-
ence of a tendency among Shinran's disciples to relate the subsidiary
practice of good deeds to Shinran's doctrine. This development is traced
in Shōshin and later, Kenchi. Also Shimbutsu's *Kyōshakumonbunsho*
illustrates the tendency to emphasize that "faith is the mother of all
virtues." In this view Nirvana was to be attained through an undoubt-
ing mind of faith and the cultivation of reverence and offerings for
the three treasures, together with the practice of good deeds. [207]) This
trend among Shinran's disciples is said to have its roots in his doctrine
itself, and was particularly stimulated by his copying the *Saihoshinan-
shō* of Hōnen. [208]) The possibility of uniting faith and good deeds be-
came the foundation for the popularization of Shinran's teaching, and
it has its background in the influence of Zenran.

There appear to have been two aspects to Zenran's teaching itself.
On the one hand, he strove for the stabilization of the fellowship, and

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205) Tatsuryo Fujishima, "Sono Go no Kantō Kyōdan to Zenran no Igi,"
Shinran Zenshū, op. cit., I, 115-116. For a detailed analysis of the competition
among the leading disciples in relation to the Zenran affair see Kazuo Kasawara,
Shinran to Tōgoku Nōmin, Op. cit., 331-337, 347-351. Yamada, *op. cit.,* 162-164.
206) Kakue Miyaji, "On Zenran's Heterodoxy," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Ken-
kyū,* IV-1 (January 1956), 232-235. Yamada, *op. cit.,* 167-171. Junko Matsuno,
"One Doctrinal System of Shinran's Followers," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū,*
III-1 (September 1954), 206-209. Matsuno, *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai, op. cit.,*
342.
207) Matsuno, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū,* III-1, *op. cit.,* 207.
208) *Ibid.,* 206.

on the other hand, he seems to have attempted a popularization of Shinran's teaching. Traditionally, Zenran has been pictured as trying to make an accommodation with popular tendencies of the day. In the *Bokiegi* he is presented as a leader of a group of fortune tellers or sorcerers. He had somehow combined his Pure Land teaching with these popular superstitions. Inferring from this possibly legendary account, scholars suggest that in this activity he desired to broaden the base of the doctrine. In this way he may have hoped to stabilize the fellowship and to bring it in line with contemporary sentiments and standards of religion.

In our estimation of these theories we can point out that they go far to redeem the character of Zenran's religious activity. However, the fact remains that whatever high purpose he had, it still became necessary for Shinran to disown him, and thus consign him to oblivion. There seems to have been considerable misunderstanding throughout the whole affair in which all those involved were placed in the unfortunate position requiring decisive and painful action. It may also be pointed out that the allegation that Zenran may have conspired to take over leadership of the community does not seem quite plausible since he probably would have been elevated shortly anyway after the passing of Shinran. We may thus conclude on this subject that Zenran was acting in accord with his understanding of the needs of the community, but that he may have been too severe and domineering.

In the case of Zenran's insult to his mother which Shinran referred to in connection with his rejection, we have little ground to form a precise judgment. Zenran has charged that he had been cheated by his "stepmother." Shinran countered that this was false. Some scholars have asserted that since Eshinni was Zenran's real mother, the insult extended to both the term "stepmother" and the charge that he was cheated. Others have maintained that she was his stepmother in fact and that the charge of falsity related to the alleged cheating. It is here a problem of the grammar and natural sense of the letter. [209] However, we have no details of Zenran's charge, nor do we know Eshinni's

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209) Umehara, *Shinranden no Shomondai, op. cit.*, 193-194, sets forth the theory that Zenran was the real son of Eshinni. The term stepmother is the insult. Seikichi Kawakami, *Gutokufū* (Tōkyō: Koshindo, 1948), 189-192 accepts the theory that Shinran had three wives, and feels that it is farfetched to claim the term "stepmother" as an insult. See also Yamada, *op. cit.*, 161-162.

side of the argument. Matsuno believes that the whole incident was
rooted in economic difficulties which eventually caused Shinran's
family to disperse. [210]) Since Shinran did not have property, this
would not have been a good basis for argument. The question remains
open, since all we know is that Zenran was deeply offended, and Shin-
ran denied the charge.

*The Persecution of the Pure Land Faith and Shinran's Attitude
Toward the State.*—In the background of the Zenran affair there ap-
pears the effort of the government in Kamakura to restrain Pure Land
teaching and its anti-social implications. There is the suggestion that in
some way Zenran had contributed to this persecution by appealing to
the authorities in Kamakura against those whom he thought were pe-
verting the true teaching. Hence Shōshin, as we have already seen, was
summoned to Kamakura to present a defense of his teaching. Conse-
quently, in the course of the affair Shinran found it necessary to con-
sider the justice of the charges against the teaching and to advise his
disciples on the attitude they should take in the face of opposition.

The attitude which we discover in Shinran's letters concerning per-
secution and the state has become a topic for serious discussion among
Japanese scholars. The discussion has arisen because Shishō Hattori
argued that Shinran had no nationalistic tendencies in his thought.
While Japanese scholars might concur with Hattori in his basic thesis,
they have taken exception to his connection of Shinran's attitude with
the class struggle which he asserts was shaping the age.

The starting point of Hattori's discussion comes from the fact that
Shinran's criticism of the state which appears in the *Denne* [211]) and
the epilogue of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* [212]) was deleted from the traditional
Hōonkō services when the *Denne* was read during the war because it
contained anti-nationalistic elements. He also points out that in contrast
to this the letter to Shōshin dated seventh month, ninth day of 1256
reveals that Shinran agreed with him that the Pure Land devotee could
recite Amida Buddha's name for the sake of his country. This passage
could be interpreted nationalistically.

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210) Matsuno, *Shinran Zenshū, op. cit.*, I, 107-109.
211) *SSZ.*, III, 647-648.
212) *Ibid.*, II, 201.

Hattori, however, rejected the nationalistic interpretation of this letter and other related passages. He challenged all traditional views with his own.

In view of the problem proposed by Hattori, and in the light of recent studies of Shinran's nationalism growing out of the Zenran affair, we shall attempt to survey his thought in relation to the specific events which we can glean from his letters.

Shinran was very cautious when he wrote in his letters about the persecutions that his followers suffered. He avoided the strong language of criticism which can be found in the *Kyōgyōshinshō* against the legalistic Buddhism of his day. Rather he counseled caution and care on all sides, because he was well aware of the factions and erroneous views held by some of his followers. He strongly advised them to avoid defaming the gods and Buddhas and thus deprive the authorities of any excuse to restrain the teaching.

In the first letter which introduced the problem of persecution (ninth month, second day, 1255) Shinran tried to show that those who were aware of the grace of the Buddha should not criticize the popular religion. The reason is that the salvation of Pure Land devotees came to them through the activities and efforts of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. In accordance with traditional Japanese thought, he affirmed that the gods of Japan are the protectors of the Buddhists, and they are not lightly to be rejected. Thus, there could be no reason for antisocial behavior. [213]

Further, Shinran not only urged respect for the gods and Buddhas, but he maintained that the devotee should not criticize the authorities on account of the persecutions. Rather they were to have sympathy for them and to recite the Buddha's name as a means to save the persecutors. [214]

The reason that Shinran advised caution on the part of his followers, and the positive attitude of sympathy and pity, was that the persecution was a natural consequence of the fact that they were living in the degenerate age. During this period when the Buddhist doctrine was eventually to disappear, there were many evils running rampant in the world. He called attention to Sakyamuni Buddha's description of the

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213) *Ibid.*, 698-700.
214) *Ibid.*, 703-705, 696-698, 658-661.

people of this age as "eyeless" and "earless." They cannot understand
the truth. He quoted a passage from Shan tao which also described the
state of the age:

> When the five defilements flourish,
> There is much doubt and slander.
>
> The clergy and lay dispute each other,
> And do not heed.
>
> When they see those practising (the discipline)
> The poison of anger arises.
>
> With means and destructions vying,
> They give birth to hatred. [215])

With these prophecies in mind, and his own experience of persecution
vivid in his memory, Shinran did not regard the recurrent persecutions
with any surprise.

However, Shinran was also well aware that there were among his
followers individuals with radical ideas who could bring about action
by the authorities to restrain the teaching. Thus he wrote that it was
shameful that there were reports which revealed the misdeeds of Pure
Land devotees. They should have been more mindful of the Buddha's
grace and the debt they owed for their salvation. But he held that only
the individuals in error should be held responsible and not the entire
group. [216])

Despite his warnings against evil-doers and wrong views, Shinran
fully realized that those who desired to hinder the spread of Pure Land
faith will take advantage of any charge, true or false. Consequently, he,
on occasion, voiced doubts concerning the charges made by the authori-
ties. [217]) In view of this situation it was necessary for the devotee to
refrain from any appearance of evil.

The attacks on the Pure Land teaching came not only from the civil
authorities, but as in earlier times, they were probably stirred up by
religious competition. The Buddhists of the established schools may
also have had a hand in keeping the government alerted to the social
menace of this teaching. In the face of opposition, Shinran maintained

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215) *Ibid.*, 701.
216) *Ibid.*, 700-701.
217) *Ibid.*, 701.

that no one could injure the Buddhist doctrine. When Buddhists attempt
to do it, they are like worms that live in a lion and kill the animal from
within. He saw that the Buddhists of his day were perhaps the greatest
enemies of Buddhism. Of course he meant by opposing the Pure Land
teaching they were in effect opposing the true Buddhism for that age.
He believed that while no one could injure Buddha's teaching, Bud-
dhists, themselves, being eyeless and earless, could virtually destroy it
by placing obstacles in the path of Pure Land faith. 218) This comment
on his view of contemporary Buddhism was also echoed in the *Shōzō-
matsuwasan*:

> In the age of the five defilements
> Clergy and lay together struggle.
> Seeing one with faith in Nembutsu
> Doubts, and slander and destructions flourish.

> All who do not attain Bodhi
> Do injury to the sole practice of Nembutsu.
> As a sign of their destruction of the sudden doctrine
> Endless will be the great sea of Births and Deaths. 219)

From these passages in Shinran's letters and verses, we may observe
that he believed that persecution was appropriate to the evil age and it
was to be accepted as inevitable. However, he also recognized that the
charges made by the civil and religious opponents were generally with-
out basis and false. Still he knew enough of his own followers to realize
that misunderstandings and rumors could arise because of careless
disciples. He did not think that the errors required or justified the
restraining of the entire fellowship. Nevertheless, when persecution
appeared, he urged his followers to avoid retaliation and simply to pray
for the salvation of the persecutors.

It can readily be seen from the considerations given above that Shin-
ran's view of the state was governed completely by religious considera-
tions. He was not interested in politics in and for itself, but only in
the advancement of Pure Land faith in order to bring salvation to all
beings.

In order to accomplish the goal of declaring the way of salvation to
beings it was necessary that conditions of peace and tranquility prevail.

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218) *Ibid.*, 705.
219) *Ibid.*, 517-518.

Thus Shinran agreed with Shōshin that Pure Land devotees could pray
for the sake of the nation to promote harmony which would enable
Buddhism to flourish. He was not interested in the condition of society,
but in the conditions which would contribute to the growth of Bud-
dhism. He urged that his followers keep mindful of the Buddha's grace
and desire to help others as the basis for producing harmony. It appears
that on the twenty fifth of each month a service was held in honor of
Hōnen's death during which Amida Buddha's name was recited specifi-
cally for the purpose of saving sinners and the opponents of the
teaching. [220]

While Shinran did not have a strong social awareness on the basis
of which he strove to reform society, he was aware that there were
great evils in the society of his day which he set forth in various places
in the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, the *Gutokuhitanjukkaiwasan*, and the *Shōzō-
matsuwasan*. However, he did not reject the state and its structure. We
have previously noted also in connection with the discussion of his dis-
ciples that his teaching was notably free of class dissension, and that his
disciples represented various classes. It would appear from this study
that those who have tried to read nationalism into his thought, or out of
it, have been more affected by the later usages of the texts than what
the texts themselves say. Shinran did not indicate in any manner the be-
lief that Buddhism was chiefly designed for the protection and pros-
perity of the state. His basic position has been described well by Mit-
suyuki Ishida:

> All Pure Realm schools arose from among the masses. They have always
> demanded freedom of worship, and the government which assures it they
> consider to be a correct government. Accordingly, it is felt that religion
> should not be used by the government for its own ends, nor should religion
> subvert the state. Shin has insisted upon this freedom of worship through all
> its history, but it has not recklessly opposed the state—indeed it has at times
> been too cooperative. At all times it has sought to preserve the unique charac-
> teristics of the Shin position. [221]

The Last Years.—The final years after the suit against the Pure
Land teaching had subsided and the fellowship attained tranquility,
Shinran spent his last years in relative peace in Kyōto. He carried on
his usual activities of writing letters to disciples, copying works which

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220) *Ibid.*, 710.
221) Mitsuyuki Ishida, *Path of the Buddha, op. cit.*, 339.

he considered important, and penning some of his own. He received
visits from his followers as before. He must have become conscious of
his age as he indicates in a letter to Jōshimbo his awareness that death
could come at any moment, and he grieves over the deaths of those he
had known in the past years. 222)

In his last days Shinran stayed in the home of his brother, Kaneari,
who was a Tendai priest. This residence was at Third and Tomi Streets.
He was also attended by Kakushinni his daughter. In the very last days
Masukata, another son, came, as well as Kenchi and Senshin, disciples
from Kantō. The *Denne* narrates briefly the last days of Shinran:

> Towards the latter part of mid-winter in the second year Kocho (1262) the
> Shonin showed the symptoms of a slight indisposition, and after that his talk
> never referred to earthly things, dwelling only on how deeply grateful he was
> to the Buddha; he uttered nothing but the name of Amida, which he constant-
> ly repeated. On the twenty eighth of the same month, at noon, he laid himself
> on his right side with his head toward the north and his face toward the west;
> and when at his last recitation of the name of Amida was heard no more, he
> expired. He was just then completing his ninetieth year. 223)

It is not in the province of this study to inquire into the development
of the fellowship after the death of Shinran, except to say that soon
after his passing his ashes were placed in a tomb in the Ōtani area in
Higashiyama section which belonged to Kakushinni. In time this tomb
tomb became the center of devotion and remembrance of Shinran, and
those who administered it and the memorial services there became the
center of the Honganji sect which united the major body of his fol-
lowers. The mode of leadership was hereditary which became a dis-
tinctive mark of this school. We cannot mention here the problems the
succession occasioned, nor the problems arising from those who did not
favor this method and who formed the Takada school. They derived
their teaching through Shimbutsu and Shōshin who represented a
spiritual lineage. In addition, there were many problems relating to the
connections of the Shinshū community to the orthodox Pure Land
schools in the Middle Ages in Japan. It was not until the time of Rennyo,
nyo, the eighth patriarch (1415-1499) that the Honganji sect emerged

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222) *SSZ.*, II, 664-665.
223) *Ibid.*, II, 653. Translation from *Buddhism and Jodo Shinshu, op. cit.*,
177-178.

as a fully independent group. It continued to develop to the present day when it claims to have some 21,024 temples and 9,046,357 believers comprising the two major branches. It is to be noted that there are ten schools tracing their lineage to Shinran.

Finally, though Shinran is a man of yesterday, his thought and faith are of today. In consequence of his spiritual impulse the great complex of Shinshū doctrine and schools have emerged. In the post-war period, Shinshū studies have resumed with greater vigor in an attempt to release the spirit of Shinran into Japanese society in the hope that his idealism and faith will invigorate and contribute to the reconstruction of Japan. [224]

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224) For a study of Shinran's doctrine see author's *Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace* (Tucson: Arizona University Press, 1965). 97 pp.

PRESENT-DAY WORSHIP OF THE COW IN INDIA

BY

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Animal worship in India does not extend its scope to all the kinds of living creatures represented there, as it did in Ancient Egypt. It favours rather a small number of animals: firstly the zebu, then the hulman ape (pithecus entellus), the Indian elephant, the Bengal tiger and some serpents. India, it seems, never practised general zoolatry, but adopted the hierarchical approach, so peculiar to its whole social system.

The supreme position, a 'Brahmanic' one, is held, without saying, by the cow. It must be emphasized that this does not mean the cow in general including its near relative the domesticated buffalo (what renders doubtful an economical interpretation of the phenomenon). It applies only to one species of the humped zebu which came from the steppes. The definition of the Indian sacred cow is by no means a precise one, despite popular opinion in the West. Even though we are really only concerned with the zebu, we shall use the word 'cow' for simplicity's sake.

Thus cow worship, in this sense, is a marked characteristic of the Hindu religion in India. One of the distinguished interpreters of Indian religion and theology to the Western World, the late German Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp, has said: "The theoretical appreciation of Veda as the infallible revelation based on Brahmin authority...; the caste system; the incarnation doctrine; the karman law; and the periodic creation and fall of the universe are the main traits of Hinduism. In addition, there is the common mythological image; the belief in the sacredness of the cow; and the faith in bathing in the Ganges as a purification for sin..."[1] The German Indianist puts cow worship second in the list of additional traits of the faith prevailing in the sub-continent.

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[1] H. von Glasenapp: Der Hinduismus in „Die grossen nichtchristlichen Religionen unserer Zeit", Stuttgart 1954, p. 33.

Such an authority as Mahatma Gandhi concurs as follows: "The central fact of Hinduism, however, is 'Cow Protection'. 'Cow Protection' to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in all human evolution; for it takes the human being beyond his species. (. . .) Man through the cow is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives. Why the cow was selected for apotheosis is obvious to me. The cow was in India the best companion. She was the giver of plenty. Not only did she give milk, but she also made agriculture possible. (. . .) She is the 'mother' to millions of Indian mankind. (. . .) 'Cow Protection' is the gift of Hinduism to the world; and Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow." [2]

The Mahatma never concealed his approbation of the protection of the cow from the butcher's knife. It is no great task to cite many statements of his that leave no room for doubt about this. "He was asked many times whether he would permit cow slaughter when the cow was unproductive and a heavy burden on the community. Gandhi always declared, even during famine periods, that he was against this proceeding. He advocated gosadans (special cow shelters) where they would await their natural end." [3]

The Mahatma's undying reputation in present-day India perpetuates the Hindu isolation and conservatism that finds its expression in cow worship. Even today devotion to the zebu is a fact of no mean importance. Cow untouchability is (in quite different sense as the casteless people untouchability to be sure) a matter constantly dealt with in Indian discussions, interpretations, and agitations, and affects government policy, public hygiene, and national economics.

The holy men's declarations on the sanctity of cows and the necessity of non-violence towards them, together with the fervent countryside devotional practices, are backed by the mythological traditions set out in Mahabharata 13 : 77. This states that the God Brahma created the divine cow mother Surabhi and the supreme cow heaven Goloka. Also in Vishnupurana 1 : 13 it says that the ruler of the Universe, Prithi, implored the Earth to provide a coat of vegetation. This she did at last under the guise of a cow, whence we derive all crops, vegetables and fruits.

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2) M. K. Gandhi: Hinduism, Young India 6.X.1921.
3) I. Lazari-Pawłowska: Etyka Gandhiego, Warszawa 1965, p. 105.

All this puts the modern government of India in a difficult position for the cattle census in 1961 revealed no less than 175,5 million. [4]) A compromise has to be found between the demands of modern live-stock breeding and the sentiment of the people. This compromise brands to some extent its imprint upon the legislative acts of the Union of India. In sex Indian states with 167 million inhabitants (census 1951) laws prohibit the slaughter of cattle. In the fourth part of the Constitution entitled 'Directives of State Policy', article 48 reads: "The state shall endeavour to organize agriculture and animal hus-bandry on modern and scientific lines and shall, in particular, take steps for preserving and improving the breeds, and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle." The formula is plainly cautious: it puts the cattle under the law's protection but does not regulate breeding practices and even has nothing against the liquidation of old, useless pieces. Yet the government has touched here upon a very delicate and explosive question. An attempt on the life of one of these quiet ruminants at once changes the habitually calm and self-controlled Hindu into a dangerous fanatic, whether it happens in the country-side, in a small town or in the city.

An observer of the Hindu's attitude to the zebu comes to realize that the universal impression of the Indian cow cult or the cow devotion is not only imprecise, being to broad, but just misleading: It suggests some kind of very humble and servile relationship with the animal, as in ancient Egypt, expressed in prayers, bows, offerings, thanksgivings and ornamentations. Setting aside a few rigorists [5]) nothing of the sort exists. On one only day of the year, called the Cow Holiday (Gopastami or Gosthastami), the zebu is the actual subject of cult practices, and during the all-Indian carnival festival Holi it is scattered with a red powder, as are men and dwellings. The exceptional position of the zebu in Hindu custom and faith, dubbed by the Westerner 'cow worship' depends on 1° An absolute abstention from cow-slaugh-

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4) Compare Hindustan Year-Book and Who's Who 1965, ed. by S. C. Sarkar — Livestock and Poultry Census, p. 268.

5) "Persons strict in their devotions daily worship the cow in the morning before going on their daily duties. First they throw flowers at het feet; then feed her with grass saying: 'O Bhagavati, eat!', then walk round her seven times and make obeisance to her". P. Thomas: Epics, Myths and Legends of India, 11th edition, p. 130.

ter, 2° An equally absolute abstention from the consumption of beef,
3° A minimum of control of breeding and a minimum of ownership
control in general, 4° Belief in the sin-purifying qualities of the five
cow-products (panchagavya) viz. milk, curd, ghee (clarified butter),
dung and urine, such as is maintained in old and important scriptures
like Mahabharata 13 : 82. So the attitude to the cow is a negative one,
something easily understandable and discernable in Indian society. Un-
fortunately, this 'laissez-faire' leads to very sad effects, especially in
towns. In the country-side one does not give more care to cattle than
in towns, yet in Nature's bosom cows have conditions that suit them
better: they can find grassy food; they move freely in the open air;
they are used by their owners for field-work that does not strain their
forces. The farmer cares more about his cows' milk-giving and
draught potentiality and has a vested interest in preventing the cow
from losing its usefulness too early. This is not so in towns. The
larger the place the worse the situation. The town or city zebus rove the
streets astray and unclaimed. They are milked irregularly crudely by
random people and soon become milkless. Their food is the urban
refuse thrown out on the pavement in this dust-binless country.
Coconut-shells, banana peel, sucked-out sugar cane sticks as well as
other leaves form unbalanced fodder and the poor ruminants are
reduced to work with only one stomach, the digester. Their dung is
caught at once by happy passers-by, to be modelled with clay and
coal-powder into cow-dung cakes and pasted to front walls even in the
main thoroughfares, just as is sometimes done with horsedung. Many
cattle fit well into these urban surroundings and look fresh and
flourishing; others are not so well off and vanish before many months
or years. Disease and exhaustion in tropic regions lead to no abrupt
death. One thing, however, attacks all stray cattle. It is rheumatism,
especially of the forelegs, the result of remaining up to the knees in
water throughout the two months monsoon period.

   In the case of the sacred zebus one more paradox of this land of
contrasts may be noted. Nobody has a mind to protect the revered
zebus from the wet season. It is rather their relations, the black
buffalos, who are without sacred immunity, who have the good luck
to possess careful husbanders. They have their enclosures, cribs, milkers,
and minders. They exist as a branch of agriculture or as a profitable
town business. The so-called 'sacredness' of the zebus renders them

unhappy. Nobody dares to help them or to care for them, just because of their taboo and untouchibility.

The most progressive and half-westernized city of India, Bombay, has done the most in comparision with other big urban centres to get rid of zebus, in so far as this is consistent with the exercise of painful tolerance towards them. A huge cattle farm, or gosala, has been founded in its suburban area, where all cattle found roving about Bombay are driven and added to the milch-cows leased from the farmers around. The Aarey milk farm with its 16 thousand cows is the chief foreign tourists attraction. Hence Bombay is the only city in India, where lack of milk does not amount to a drastic shortage. In Calcutta, with 6 million inhabitants, a similar milk farm is being organized at Haringhata, but this has not yet put an end to the rationing of milk and it is still necessary to pay the expensive sum of 60 paise for a well-watered glass.

In sum the 'sanctity' of the zebus actually causes their poor productivity and India pays for her peculiar attitude with the lowest milk yield in the world from her cows. It means a heavy loss for the national income considering that milk "is obtained from about 67 million cows and buffaloes maintained in nearly 40 million small fragmented holdings throughout the country." [6])

The next considerable loss for undernourished India is the rigid prohibition of cow slaughter, which applies in six of her states. The central government was juggling, during the Kashmir conflict with Pakistan in the autumn of 1965, with the political catch-phrase: 'The secular state'. Yet de facto the central authority puts into operation the religious prescriptions of its Hindu majority, as can be seen from the fragment of the Indian Constitution already cited.

So the zebu continues to be treated as the sacred animal in the pure Durkheimian sense, as something exempted from the general rule, three times 'untouchable': by slaughterer, consumer and husbander. The writer's own observation of the ten Indian states during 1965 and 1966 confirms the statement of a Swiss traveller in 1952, regarding the Indian attitude to cows. It has lost its validity only in the case of Bombay. He writes as follows: "The cow as the symbol of life is sacred. It roves freely in this country even in big cities like Calcutta,

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6) Hindustan Year-Book..., p. 274.

Bombay and Madras. Cows lying during long siesta in the narrow
thoroughfares and blocking the traffic on the pavement are nowadays
rather a common feature. The motorist would look vainly for some-
body bold enough in a small town, who would decide to make his way
through despite this phlegmatic animal. Protests are not to be avoided
when there is a crowd of Hindus in the near distance." [7])

There are many contradictory opinions, divergent attitudes, and
diverse arguments concerning this problem of the cow. But in any
case one would commit the cardinal sin of being wanting in insight into
the religious situation in contemporary India, if one assumed that
orthodox Hindu cow-worshippers made for their beloved protegées a
paradise on earth. Quite the contrary. Zebus are poor creatures only
because they are marked with the brand of sacredness, as Hindus
conceive it. This was rightly pointed out by the Prime Minister Nehru
in 1954 in his lecture addressed to cow worshippers: "The condition
of the cows in foreign countries like Amerika, England and Russia
was far better than in India. Even granting that an overall law was
passed banning the slaughter of the cows, it would lead to greater
starvation and more deaths among cows." [8])

To support the thesis that the so-called cow-worship not only affords
the cattle no protection against degeneration, disease and starvation
but also fails to protect them against human cruelty, the writer
himself can cite evidence from documents in the archives of the Society
of the Protection of Animals against Cruelty. The subject is the
inhuman practice of fooka, i.e. the artificial, painful and killing
extention of the milk-giving period in mother cows. This is a purely
Indian problem and an unexpected one, so it deserves some broader
mention. There exists in Calcutta the office of the Government of
West Bengal Registrar of Societies, Firms and Non-trading Corpora-
tions. It keeps open for inspection a list of all institutions of this kind
and has gathered their documents since the end of the last century.
The collections of this unexplored material in Calcutta are especially
interesting; one might say they are a very mine of data dealing with
Indian life, for until 1910 the city was the capital of British Imperial
India and afterwards sustained its leading position as 'the premier

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7) H. J. C. Taussig: Indien. Mächte im Aufstieg, Zürich 1952, p. 52.
8) Muhandi Lal: The Cow Cult in India, Radical Humanist — Pamphlet 3,
p: 25.

city of India'. A long and detailed enquiry into all these memoranda, depositions, yearly reports, officers lists and so on of the social and religious societies of West Bengal enables to penetrate deeply into the very intimate corners of Indian life and customs revealed there. The very discovery of the existence of such an institution as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals serves to weaken the common opinion of the Indian attitude to animals and particularly cows — the alleged pan-Indian ahimsa principle.

Let us cast a look at the status of this Society. Most illuminating is the fifth point of the document dealing with the cow and the fooka practice performed on it. A telephone conversation with one of the activists of the Society, a veterinary surgeon from Calcutta, revealed that fooka is the use of mechanical (stinging), chemical (with special liquids) and/or manual methods of stimulation meant to extend the milk-giving period of the cow beyond its natural term. It destroys the organism and causes many physical pains. Fooka is commonly practised in Calcutta because milk is expensive and the inclination to get a quick profit uncontrollable. The very vagueness about cow ownership, together with the notorious lack of permanent husbandry encourages it in towns. Nobody ventures there to compel cattle to go back to his home when they move spontaneously to another quarter of the town. Somebody else takes the profit and milks these new-comers until they run away again of their own free will. Since some time the number of cases of fooka has increased so greatly that Calcutta veterinary surgeons and animal lovers acting under the Central Government Antifooka Act of 1954 have founded the Society to fight against the practice.

Preventive action is being taken in this way: a Society member, with the aid of a constable, comes at 5 a.m. to a house pointed out to him by the neighbours as a place where fooka is being practised. The ill-doer is caught in flagranti. He is punished by a high fine and if he is a recidivist the case is brought to the court of justice.

It is not easy to enquire even to a limited extent into the practice in the countryside. The more careful and landlordlike approach of the farmer to his own well-regulated profit helps to some extent to prevent the short-sighted exterminating process. What is certain is that in big town centres morality lays no restraint on painful and cruel proceedings even in the case of sacred animals, when the practice brings quick profits.

At any rate the practice of fooka compels us to correct our current opinion of the mild and compassionate attitude of Hindus towards animals. Arnold Toynbee's compliment paid to India in the first of the Azad Lectures sponsored by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations that all living creatures on Indian soil are far less timid than elsewhere, is only partly true. The very sultry and relaxing climate of the Indian sub-continent with the exception of the Himalayan and other highland regions lulls to sleep the animals reactions and discourages men from ill-treating them. Besides the Hindu attitude is generally self-controlled, nerveless and passive. Nevertheless deeds of cruelty do occur, as we have seen, and are practised on sacred cows.

Cow worship in its literal meaning is to be observed on the Cow Holiday, Gopastami. A description of this festival has been made for us by an American scholar: "On yet another day in this same month (July) Indian women of the higher castes worship the cow. In the temple courtyard a cow is tethered, with perhaps her calf beside her. While the women sit watching in reverent silence the priest bathes the cow's hooves, places a red-coloured thread on her horns, and makes offerings of flowers, moistered wheat, incense and so on. Then the women move around the cow four times and each time they pour water on her tail out of the jug that they carry, and lift the wet tip to their eyes and head. Finally each kisses the patient beast and whispers into her right ear that 'Truth belongs to you, and it is our duty to keep our promises.' [9]) On the other 364 days of the year cow worship finds its expression only in favourable neutrality towards the animal; it leaves them undisturbed and calm. This is something quite different from attending to their welfare and demands in life.

Up to the present day the origin of the Go Mata (Cow-Mother) devotion remains doubtful. It did not appear very early to be sure. The Vedas do not mention the restraint on cow slaughter [10]) nor the proscription of cow-meat, nor the reluctance to use calf-skin. As liberal, though advising a little more temperance in this respect, are the regulations of the Manu: "There is no fault in eating flesh, nor in drinking intoxicating liquor, nor in copulation (for) that is the occupation of being, but cessation (from them) produces great

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9) Royston Pike: Round the Year with World's Religions, London 1946, p. 111.
10) Compare Macdonnel: A History of Sanscrit Literature, p. 98-99, 125, and 149.

fruit. [11]) Increasingly strict sanctions against beef-eaters came after this period and the taboo has lasted to the present day. A student especially researching into this problem, W. N. Brown, admits many and various factors which probably played a part in forming so prominent a characteristic of the whole of Indian culture as is the absolutely unkillable and uneatable cow. He enumerates them as follows: "1° Importance of the cow and its products for the Vedic sacrifice celebrations; 2° Figurative expressions on cow that have been taken afterwards in their literal meaning; 3° proscriptions aiming to a protection of the Brahmin's cow from all kinds of superstitions; 4° Including the cow in the general frame of the ahimsa doctrine; 5° Involving the cow cult in the Mother-India one." [12])

Independently of this, a progressive author of a well-documented pamphlet demanding the instant revision of the economically absurd beef-meat taboo, has given us a concise history of the cow cult in India. It has proved that "up to the time of Buddha... the use of beef was very common. Cattle flesh, being cheap, was commonly used by the people... The cow slaughter of King Rantideva of Malva and of other magnates must have been responsible for the slaughter of millions of cows". [13])

The cattle were treated in the same way during the reign of the great Chandragupta of the Maurya Dynasty, a period covering the Seleukos Nikator's invasion of India. We possess documents of this era. The Brahmin minister of the Prince Kautilya laid down the Artha Shastra i.e. the Book of Laws. "He has written to what use a cow was put in his days, and what a useful animal the cow was". [14]) If we are to believe the author of the progressive pamphlet, we have to go back to the third century A.D. to look for the orgins of fanatical cow-worship and the beef-meat taboo. It does not mean by the way, that the cow did not enjoy some priviliges in earlier times. Such an imposing and useful domestic ruminant could not fail to find a place in Indian mythology. Indeed, we recognize the Earth-Cow Nutrix nourishing

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11) The Ordinances of Manu. Lecture V : 56, p. 117 in edition of the Trubner's Oriental Series.

12) W. N. Brown: La vache sacrée dans la religion hindou, Annales, Economies, Societés Civilisations 19, 1964, p. 653.

13) Muhendi Lal: loc. cit. p. 19.

14) Ibid. p. 25.

Gods and men with her divine milk as early as the Vedic Sanhitas;
even in the Rigveda the comparison of the universe to the cow occurs
in three places (1:153:3, 8:90:15, 10:11:1). [15] It is an ancient legacy
to the Indo-European Commonwealth: we meet just the same motif in
the form of the Audumla Cow in Scandinavian mythology. "Four
milk-rivers flowed down from her full udder, as a Ymir's food." [16]

This Earth-Cow Nutrix was only commemorated and was lacking
in any high importance. The ruling dynasty, which claimed with pride
that the child Krishna tended cows on its own suburban meadows,
raised devotion to the cow to its greatest known extent in religious
history. Royal prestige was linked to local patriotism and started the
form of zoolatry which has marked Hindu life for ever. Let us once
again quote the pamphlet.

"The Krishna cult. . . as an incarnation, started under the Kushans
at Mathura (65 A.D.-225 A.D.), where Krishna was born. . . His life
is recorded in the Bhagavatpurana which was written in the fifth
century A.D. The devotees of Krishna, the Vaishnavas, were all strict
vegetarians and worshippers of the cow, which was so intimately con-
nected with Krishna's life. . . It was revived by the devotional and
romantic Vidyapati, who was born in 1403 A.D. And the great Vaish-
nava Saint Vallabhacharya, who was born in 1478 A.D., translated
the Bhagavatpurana into Hindi. The translation of the Bhagavatpurana
in popular language gave a great fillip to the cow cult in India, as it
made the cow more familiar to Hindus as a part and parcel of Krishna's
life. . . Krishna's cow became the Cow Mother (Go-Mata) of every
Hindu. It became a part of the Hindu religion. No orthodox Hindu
would henceforth kill a cow or eat beef." [17]

One can assume that this explanation of the growth of the cow
cult is right, at least in its general frame. The connection of the cow
with the divine person of the by far most beloved and worshipped
Vishnu's avatar contributed surely to its growth all over India. If we
want to render this in Christian terms, we can refer to the cattle and
donkeys that were the first devotees of the new-born Christ Child in the

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[15] Compare H. Losch: Kuh in: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
3rd ed. vol. 4. col. 86.

[16] T. Margul: Mity z pięciu części świata (Myths from the five Continents),
Warszawa 1966, p. 228-229.

[17] Muhendi Lal: loc. cit. p. 20.

Christmas shed. The analogy, however, would be imperfect. Krishna tended his herd of cows throughout his childhood and adolescence and his love partner Radha was presented in capacity of a milkmaid gopi. The Child Jesus, on the contrary, was trained in carpentry and his nearest female, his Mother Mary, had nothing to do with husbandry.

The failure of the Muslims, who started to invade from the 11th century onwards, to observe the beef taboo put a wedge between the Hindus and the followers of Allah. Now abstinence from cow-killing and eating has become an emblem of religious solidarity. It is deeply true that "the Hindu Brahmins pleaded this as an argument against Islam and further emphasized the sacredness of the cow. Conversely, Muslims encouraged Hindus to eat beef so that they would become outcastes and come into their fold, where they could enjoy beef". [18]) This exploitation of cow-meat abstinence for political purposes to inspire hate between Hindu and Muslim, has sometimes been carried to appalling degrees. Periods of political upheaval encourage this. "Some utterances were heard in 1947 that Muslims were the utmost dangerous foes of Hindus regarding their attitude to the cow and they should be passed a sentence of death. The Government has received tens of thousands of letters and telegrammes claiming that the law restraint of cow slaughter would be applied to the whole country". [19]) The worship of this calm ruminant, as we have seen, erupts rather abruptly into violence.

A few recorded facts from recent years cast a little light on the way the Hindu confront the sacred cow. Abanindra Nath Tagore ... told our author that: "he remembered the days when some reformers, westernized Bengalis, used to shout in public that they had eaten beef. The orthodox Bengalis took advantage of this and... treated them as outcastes and Christians". [20]) Similarly "A few years ago, in Mysore, a Pandit, a learned Brahman, insisted on killing a cow to perform gomedha (cow sacrifice) and sought for police help to save him from the molestations by orthodox Hindus". [21]) We can now understand how the orthodox Brahman who is well-informed about the religious traditions of the country has some reservations

18) Ibid. p. 21.
19) I. Lazari-Pawłowska: Etyka Gandhiego, Warszawa 1965, p. 107.
20) Muhendi Lal: loc. cit. p. 21.
21) Ibid. p. 11.

about other orthodox Hindus, who observe the later traditions. Those who observe the religious ceremonies developed before Kushan times will unfailingly fall into conflict with the extreme cow cult.

An even more detailed story from World War II is reported by yet another famous writer Nirad Chandra Chaudhury in his stimulating book "Autobiography of an Unknown Indian". "A certain citizen of a small town of East Mymensingh (now in East Pakistan — T.M.), a contracter and thus a helper of the Allied cause during the Second World War had the misfortune of having his cow strangled to death by means of the rope with which she was tied. The incident took place towards the end of 1944, and the expiation the contracter had to make was severe. To begin with, he had to go into sack cloth, drink half a glass of bovine urine and fast for one day. For the next three days, he had to live and sleep in the open on the spot where the cow had died, and also abstain from eating anything but plain rice unseasoned even with salt. This rice, too, he had to beg from his neighbour's, and while begging he had to ask for his alms bellowing like an ox, for during these days he was not permitted to speak like a man. Furthermore all the time he had to wear a rope round his neck. At the end of three days, a most elaborate atonement ceremony was performed. He was sprinkled all over with cow's urine, all the Brahmans of the locality were fed, and the priests amply rewarded. (...) It was the cold season, and as a result of the exposure undergone, he got fever and became delirious. In his delirium, it seemed that he called aloud for his cow, and for a day or two it seemed that he would join her". [21a]

This is a horrifying description and we have no ground for doubting its authenticity. Today this could only happen in very remote corners of the subcontinent. But there exists no legal means of coping with it: it was performed under no pressure except that of public opinion by members of the petit bourgoisie, who were angry with this happily enriched army supplier. The place mentioned is to be found nowadays far beyond the present boundaries of the Union of India, where Islam reigns absolutely. But there are many other places in India where Hinduism reigns absolutely in its turn, and where such an incident is easily conceivable.

21a) N. C. Chaudhury: Autobiography of an Unknown Indian, London 1947, p. 446.

Country people regard their cows with sentiments equal to those directed to the closest relatives. To understand this, you have only to have a sincere talk with a farmer about his elderly cattle. We can refer to the typical reaction of a country Hindu in answer to a question asked him by a Westernized countrywoman. One rich Hindu lady after having completed her studies in England, could not help being amazed at the way the poor farmer's family maintained the unproductive burden of the old cow. What he heard was nevertheless amazing. As soon as Europeans would contemplate killing their grandfathers and grandmothers who were no longer fit for work, they would consider the possibility of shortening the life of the cow, which had nourished them. These are the creatures who accompany the family throughout their lives, do the field work for it, nourish it with their milk and share its fortune both good and bad. [22])

Yet the prominent theme that sounds today in the foreground of all discussion of the burning question of Indian cattle, is not so much care about the scrupulous observation of the beef meat and slaughter taboo, as the economic problem caused by the vast increase of population. No such a question, as the possible expiation in purgatory of unpremeditated killing of the cow or restrictions on beef meat consumption actually troubles the social worker's mind, but rather the absolute need to raise the standard of husbandry of the most sacred and most suffering animal in the country. In the "Hindustan Times" we read in 1954 under the heading 'The Indian Cattle Problem' as follows: "matters like this have to be considered in the light of cold reason, not sentimentality. India must increase her cattle wealth... Notwithstanding the slogans that one hears or reads about Go-Mata, the fact remains that our cattle are, on the whole, poor, ill-fed and ill-treated". [23])

From the month of April 1954 Indian society began to show increased interest in this by now rather cramping legacy from the past, leading straight to the degeneration of the Indian zebu. The Indian Minister of Agriculture himself decided to reconsider the problem of the protection of cattle. The matter became the urgent question of the day. A journalist of the capital city of Uttar Pradesh

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22) Referred in A. Desjardins: Ashrams. Les Yogis et les Sages, Genève-Paris 1962, p. 145-146.
23) April 29th 1954.

state attacked in sharp words the deputy to the All-Indian Parliament
from this state for his passiveness in this matter. "Mr X (a M.P.)
has not asked a single question in Parliament on the implementation of
the Anti-Phooka Act, placed on the Statute Book by beef-eater Lord
Linlithgow. He was appaled by the cruelty to cows in Calcutta per-
petuated on them by men who venerated her as their mother. Mr X is
equally oblivious to the cruelties and sufferings to which a cow is
subjected in other cities of India". [23a])

Thus the sacredness of cows has become in the minds of educated
people increasingly regarded as a block on the road to progress. On
the one hand, rational husbandry demands a secular approach to the
Indian cow. On the other hand, the Indian government feels itself to
be helpless in the face of the sentimental resistence of the masses and
is forced to take religious prejudices into serious consideration. There
is a real conflict between the demands of prudence, economic want
and the traditional liberalism towards the zebu. In many instances
the only way out is to take refuge in citations from holy books and
to find there support for the action necessary to promote efficient
animal husbandry. In any dispute between common sense and the
requirements of the holy books the latter continue to prevail. This
struggle between reason and tradition is well illustrated in passages
like this: "However, it is some consolation that the Government now
proposes to establish Gosalas or Gosadans (cow pensions or homes for
cattle) to segregate improductive useless and invalid cows within some
forest areas. But the idea is not popular with the masses and the
government dare not take strong measures. (...) The ordinary Hindu's
reverence for the cow is simply sentimental, based on prejudice or
religious beliefs and quite unconnected with the good of the cow". [24])

To fight the similar with the similar, advocates of reform reach
willingly for arguments from the past. One cites large historical cattle
pastures like Venuvana, belonging to the king of Rajagriha (now
Rajgir in Bihar and once the capital of the ancient kingdom of
Magadha in the time of Buddha) or the Anjavana of Saket or the
Jetavana of Sravasti. Vana in Sanskrit is the name of a holy grove
or sanctuary. One recalls Chandragupta's minister's statement:

23a) Pioneer of Lucknow, No. April 27th 1954.
24) Muhendi Lal: loc. cit. p. 24.

"agriculture depended on cattle, comprising cows, buffaloes, goats, asses, pigs and dogs". [25]

In Calcutta, as in many places in the North, boards with inscriptions such as 'No beef' are to be seen. The South being to a higher degree vegetarian, the problem is less urgent there. Beef consumption in the cooler regions would rid India of the drastic famines which haunt her regularly every year, in some places after drought, hurricane and flood.

It is hard to close a chapter dealing with Indian cow worship without mentioning the rather intuitive but none the less interesting hypothesis of the already cited Nirad Chandra Chaudhury regarding the origin of Indian zebu worship. We have already pointed out the narrow scope of this worship: the cult is confined exclusively to a single species of the humped cattle. Further its form its typically Indian one of non-intervention and it dates back no further than to the Kushan rulers, reigning in Mathura, the mythic homeland of the pastoral exile Krishna. N. C. Chaudhury gets rid of the Krishnan genesis of cow devotion in a fragment of his book "The Continent of Circe". He calls attention to the aesthetic aspect of the reverence rendered to this strangly gracious and delicate species of cattle and stresses their undeniable adjustment to the steppes. Their hump contributes to their toleration of the dry climate prevalent in the state of Rajastan and to their zoogeographical regression in the wet state of Bengal.

"The explanation given by modern Hindus is naive, even more naive than the reason they gave for river-worship. They say that an animal which keeps us alive by giving milk has the right to demand respect for its own life. The relationship is expressed not in terms of economics and animal husbandry or of the imperialism of man over the animal world but as a matter of ethics, as if one was speaking of a man's relationship with his wet nurse. (...) The real reason is however as simple and as easy to discover as that for river-worship. It is that the Aryans had not found their humped cattle in the country, but had brought it from the Middle East with them and they soon discovered that it would not survive in India without extra care. In

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25) Kautilya Artha Sastra, book II, 35 : 3 : 10.

other words the Zebu was as much a part of their Aryan heritage as
the Vedas (...)

The pathos generated by the fragility of the humped cattle in India
must have been heigthened by the Aryan's sense of its beauty of
appearance... (...) When our cattle is properly fed and looked after
there are few combinations of form and colour among living creatures
which are more beautiful. (...)

I was delighted to find from the Mahabharata that the ancient
Hindus were fully aware of this beauty. There is a story in it which
says that once upon a time the goddess Lakshmi who confers both
wealth and beauty on mankind came to a herd of cattle and offered
to live in their bodies in order to make them more beautiful. 'No thank
You' replied the spokesman of the cows 'we are ourselves so beautiful
that we do not need to take you in to become so'.

The static beauty of our humped cattle has been embodied for all
time in our sculpture. (...) These scenes are painted with unsurpassed
loveliness in the miniatures of the Kangra school, and it is in the idyllic
quality of the going out to the pastures and coming home of our
humped cattle that one finds a key to one of the most amazing trans-
fomations of a legendary personality, which has shocked neither the
sense nor the sensibility of the Hindus only because they are so used
to contradictions. It is the metamorphosis of the Aryan hero Krishna
strong in battle and wily in council, who can urge cousins to kill
cousins in war, into a cowherd, a lover of milkmaids, and a player of
the bambo pipe." [26]

The last quotation is rather long, yet it gives a fine idea of the
aesthetical and emotional regard that an intelligent English-educated
Indian writer has for the zebu. This attempt to defend the exceptional
position of the zebu is being performed not on religious grounds but
on atavistic Arian one. A change of motivation not of attitude has
taken place. It seems to be no less harmful than devotional fanaticism
in its practical consequences.

To sum up, Indian sentiment for the cow which arose in pre-
Christian times partly as result of its extreme usefulness and hard
adjustment to conditions different from those of the Volga steppes,

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26) N. C. Chaudhury: Beauty worshipped in the sacred cow..., The States-
man, No. June 12th 1965—a fragment of the book "The Continent of Circe" then
just under press.

was lifted to the level of religious exaltation by the Kushan rulers. Hence the lasting imprint made upon the Indian mind. Simple people are nowadays swiftly prompted to mass disturbances and lynchings when confronted with cow-killers and have the greatest contempt for canibal beef-eaters. The orthodox pandith or priest prescribes ruthless penances even for the unintentional cow-killer or the indirect causer of a cow's death. And the sophisticated Hindu intellectual tries to rescue the shattered position of the animal by referring to its un-surpassed gratiousness and its well-acknowledged role in ancient miniature art, painting, sculpture and literature.

Meanwhile the lazy, sleepy herds of cows are roving about all the Indian towns and cities, ruminaging in dustheaps, getting wet up to the knees in the rainy season and supplying only 186 litres of milk yearly on average. They excite both the sympathy of the foreigner and the devotion of the indigenous people.

The reverence rendered to the cow gets an instrument of politics. Behind the cow cult are hidden conservative and isolationist political forces opposed to any attempt to modernize the state and to include it in the family of modern states. Their appeal is well calculated from the psychological standpoint. The catch-phrase 'A cow is being slaughtered!' acts upon the Hindu masses and mobilizes the fanatics in the same way, as 'A nigger is violating a white woman' does in the Southern USA or 'The Mahommed's hair has been stolen!' does in the Kashmir region. There is greater hatred of the 'mlecchas' involved in this than positive feeling towards the creature.

Right up to the present day sacred cows evoke the pious interest of the general public. Witness this street scene in the holy town of Puri in Orissa state. It is the place of residence of one of the Jagat-gurus i.e. the religious leaders of the Saiva sect, who are just now campaigning by fasting on behalf of the abolition of cow-slaughter in all Indian states. Here at Puri is to be seen the shrine of Jagadnath (The Lord of the World) famous throughout India and the centre of an annual religious festival in which the God is carried around on a mobile altar-waggon with huge wheels, about four yards in diameter.

There are few things under heaven which make such an impression as this; a flying young zebu cow pursued by a well-made bull of the same kind all along the main street of Puri which runs alongside the walls of the shrine. The crowd gives way to this excited pair with the

utmost admiration, respect and delight. It seems as if some sacred hierogamic game is being played out before their very eyes. The 'sacramental consumation' was probably performed on the huge dust-heap, amid sweepings and dirty objects—empty coconut shells and crushed tea-pots—judging by the fact that the same pair of cattle is presently to be seen calmly pasturing on this dust-heap, which ornaments the shrine wall, hard by the sacrosanctum.

INTERFAITH AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

BY

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Princeton

The Edward F. Gallahue Conference on "Religious Pluralism and World Community" held at Princeton Theological Seminary, May 4-11, 1966, brought together fifty-five scholars and invited guests. The gathering was conceived under history of religions guidelines. Inevitably involved were the perspectives of an interdisciplinary orientation. Such a broad-gauged theoretical groundwork was admirably defined by Professor C. J. Bleeker of the University of Amsterdam in a paper entitled "Methodology and the Science of Religion."

In structural setting and design, the conference was not unaware of Friedrich Heiler's projection of the history of religions in terms of its phenomenological manifestations. One was ever mindful of his ingenious morphology of concentric circles. Visualized by means of a fourfold pattern, the religions of mankind, whether primitive or advanced, are thus brought under scientific investigation through several meaningful approaches. An outer rim represents such visible features of religion as those of physical, textual, and organic formation no less than the patrimony of charismatic personalities. A first inner ring reflects the conceptual disclosures of theological, philosophical, and ideological formations. A second inward ring symbolizes the world of religious experience. Finally, a dynamic center corresponds with the core that integrates religious history, that is, the realm of intuitive and ultimate reality. This last category is the principal point of reference and saving power posited by every faith in its own peculiar order of authenticity.

Whereas the proceedings fell into one or another of the above dimensions, there was considerable interpenetration of ideas and conflation of images. Yet vital dialogue seemed elusive and hard to generate. The reason might well have been ingrained in an almost instinctive aversion

to involvement in, and confrontation with, the mystery of ultimacy, an ultimacy inescapably informing depth religion.

Pervasive throughout the sessions furthermore was an awareness that the history of religions is basically a matter of *verstehen* in the sense that Wilhelm Dilthey described the specific method of the humanities. In van der Leeuw's words, such a comprehension requires "the insertion of the phenomenon in our own life." Whereas the history of religions rightly resists the temptation of being maneuvered into programs of uplift and facile goodwill, its contribution to authentic dialogue remains unmistakable. Discoveries in religious truth are ever articulate in novel interfaith insights. The truth of reason enkindles a spirit of sympathy and understanding.

The Significance of Methodology

Professor Bleeker projected a fundamental groundwork for a world community of desegrated religions and cultures. Many of the blunders in national and international politics and economics could be averted, he surmised, if statesmen took into account the religious emotions and ideas involved by their decisions. He was convinced that the principal insights of the science of religion, particularly phenomenology, serve to substitute harmony for the still nebulous pursuits of interfaith and intercultural understanding.

Dr. Bleeker saw world community realized through rapid modern communication. He dispelled any assumption, however, that differences among world religions would soon fade out giving way to a world religion. He urged that all undertakings to study the problem of relations among world religions be conducted in line with the scientific methods and findings reflected in the phenomenology of religion. Necessary clarifications and implications, said Bleeker, are contingent upon the phenomenological approach and procedure. His explication of the nature and purpose of phenomenology went straight to the core of his thesis.

The phenomenology of religion has successfully developed since its introduction in 1887 by the Leyden historian of religion P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Professor Bleeker also reminded the conference of the twin principles of phenomenology: (a) *epoché,* the suspension of judgment till a given religious phenomenon has been fully sustained; (b) the *eidetic* vision, that is an understanding of religious essentials

displayed by the phenomenon under investigation. He further referred to another Leyden scholar, W. B. Kristensen, who once said: "Let us not forget that there is no other religious reality than the faith of believers ... Not only our religion, but every religion is according to the faith of the believers, an absolute unity and can only be understood under this aspect."

To the foregoing remarks, Bleeker added his own incisive judgment. "It must be remembered that the believer keeps a secret which he cannot and does not wish to reveal to non-believers and believers in another faith. Nevertheless, it is possible to attain by factual knowledge and by religious intuition, insight into what is unique in the forms of the religion one is studying." It is the task of the phenomenology of religion, he concluded, to make religiously understandable what is humanly un-understandable.

Few would disagree that if there is to be any authentic dialogue among religions and cultures, the above format provides a scientific and practical first step. The structural design for any such worthwhile communication rests in the afore-mentioned three-ringed approach proposed by Friederich Heiler on the basis of extensive research in the field.

The conference elicited from the participants a series of major papers. These triggered a number of clinical studies in the form of oral discussion. It may be in order to set forth the main thrust of the principal addresses in terms of the three primary manifestations of religion: visible, conceptual, and empirical.

Visible Phenomena

Professor Wing-tsit Chan of Dartmouth College, Professor Hajime Nakamura of Tokyo University, Professor Annemarie Schimmel of Bonn University, and Chancellor Louis Finkelstein of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America presented papers which among other valuable features exemplified the so-called visible manifestations of world religions and cultures.

1. Professor Chan expounded the manifestation of religious pluralism in today's monolithic Chinese structure. He took cognizance of the same phenomenon in the over-all cultural heritage of China. He mentioned the "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom and Let One Hundred Schools Contend" movement of 1957, adding that while the one hundred

flowers may not be blooming at present, the one hundred schools are still contending.

What has China contributed to religious pluralism? Simply the fact, he replied, that religion (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, as well as the late comers, Christianity and Islam) can flourish together. When China shall once more take her place in the world community, he continued, her pluralistic character will once more come to grips with Western religions. Past experience has taught us, he reasoned, that trouble can be avoided if religions do not serve political and economic interests. Such issues as God as personal, original sin, immortality, and the cycles of life and death can perhaps be resolved through discussion.

Involvement of China's religions in society prompted Chan to observe that differences in doctrine are not easy to resolve. A basic source of conflict is the claim of a given religion to be all-inclusive and supreme, on the one hand, and, on the other, China's peculiar concept of religious pluralism. Logically, he declared, one cannot be two, and two cannot be one. Fortunately, he quipped, logic has seldom led to solutions of religious problems.

2. Professor Hajime Nakamura developed and documented this visible character of religion through an attempted elucidation of the Hindu and Buddhist concept of law. Utilizing Sanskrit and Pali, as well as Chinese and Japanese, sources, he endeavored to trace the nuances of Indian-Buddhist *dharma*. He exhibited more than casual acquaintance with the collatoral Western apparatus.

Despite external similarity between the concept of dharma and that of logos, Nakamura drew a sharp line of demarcation between the two. He argued that dharma tended to be subjective, controlling human behavior; whereas logos appeared to him as objective controlling the world of nature which forms the environment of mankind.

3. Further illumination of the visible phenomena of religion was shed by Professor Annemarie Schimmel in a paper on "Islam and Modern Culture." Dr. Schimmel's preview encompassed crucial facets of the total Islamic *Leitbild*. Almost every Muslim who knows exults in the belief that a perfect unity of *dīn* and *dawlah*, religion and the socio-political order, is prescribed in the Koran. Since the two form facets of an identical reality, the Muslim esteems the validity of a teaching true to human experience and progress. In a world disarrayed by the basic anomaly of division between the sacred and secular, such an involve-

ment carries essential insight. It is calculated to temper such alienation of religious sanctities as the primacy of this secular age breeds.

4. Chancellor Finkelstein's investigation of "The Jewish Vision of Human Brotherhood" rendered a service to students of visible religious phenomena amidst the religious pluralism of world community. This was set forth on the basis of the "in" and "outside" groups. Utilizing Jewish source material and procedural documentation, the speaker treated the concept of a "chosen people" largely from the vantage point of the Pentateuch. His referencces included furthermore Second Isaiah and the Jewish Prayer Book — "the most significant tract of Jewish theology." In all these writings the selection of Israel, said Finkelstein, was translated into a command. Israel had been chosen for specific tasks and responsibilities.

At the very beginning of literary prophecy, Dr. Finkelstein concluded, Amos reminded Israel that it was not different before the Lord than the nations of the Ethiopians, Philistines, or Arameans. Man's hunger for primacy is given satisfaction. But the primacy to be achieved is in service not power.

Conceptual Structures

A whole range of conceptual religious structures was projected in papers by eminent scholars. Professor H. C. Ganguli of New Delhi University removed any doubt with regard to the nature of the theological stances behind the issue of population explosion. Dr. Fazlur Rahman of the Pakistan Government delved into the "Impact of Modernity on Islam." Professor Robley E. Whitson of Fordham University looked at "The Situation of Theology" in our time. Professor. S. G. F. Brandon of the University of Manchester conceptualized on "A New Awareness of Time and History."

1. Professor Ganguli's treatment of "Religion and the Population Explosion" shattered any illusion regarding the profound involvement of the religions singly and collectively, in the destiny of mankind. He urged that religions "not only tolerate fertility control in the best interests of future generations but propagate it, and give it all the weight of their authority." The only way to do this, he maintained, was for the religions to adopt a Protestant ethic that considers marriage beneficial in itself and not primarily a means for procreation.

Ganguli reckoned that most religions, with the exception of the Ro-

man Catholic, agree that a curb needs to be placed on present popula-
tion trends. None of the other great religions has taken a negative at-
titude toward use of contraceptive devices. He regarded Roman Catho-
lic approval of the "rhythm method" as a "very good compromise at-
tempt between total abstinence advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and the
permissive Protestant disposition." But he maintained that the latter
compromise has meant a sacrifice of intellectual vigor and practicalness.

Professor Bernard J. Cooke, S.J., of Marquette University, empha-
sized that the Roman Catholic Church was in the throes of rapid change
in her official attitude toward birth control. Under study by a Vatican
Commission appointed by Pope Paul VI, the issue is not basically a
problem of sex morality, Father Cooke advised the conference. It is
rather an issue of the continuity and discontinuity of basic Catholic
doctrine.

2. Professor Fazlur Rahman explored this conceptual aspect further
in a paper, "The Impact of Modernity on Islam," raising certain issues
of common reformation import. A number of his insights might serve
to elucidate the general problem of the desegregation of religions and
cultures in world community. With the possible exception of Turkey
(and even there secularism among the country folk is far from whoe-
heartedly understood or accepted), the Muslim world's citizenry and
officialdom vie with one another in lauding Islam as a complete way of
life. Yet what is deprecated is bifurcation of society into sacred and
secular compartments as an order of the day in most Islamic states.

Versatile Pakistani reformer that he is, Fazlur Rahman had serious
misgivings about any such bifurcation. Vexing his task, as it were, was
the fact that although dedicated to a Koran-based society, he at the same
time found himself a modernist and an avid rationalist. He could scarce-
ly steer a course removed from the strategy of demythologizing and
isolated from philosophical reconception. As a wrestler with traditional
Islam, the posture he chose for himself could never be other than that
of radical Islamic theology.

Such a vision of thoroughgoing reform was impeded and jeopardized
in Pakistan by the dearth of intellectual talent. In the teeth of a funda-
mentalist theology, only the state seemed redoutable enough to institute
effective measures in support of such reforms as those of women's edu-
cation, coeducation, updating an archaic banking system, and the libera-
lization of religious law.

Ernst Troeltsch maintained many years ago that the Protestant Reformation did not effect a fresh start till it had successfully detached itself from medieval Christendom and taken the Enlightenment as a point of departure. In a somewhat similar vein, Fazlur Rahman contended that Islamic reform could not get started in earnest till a return to Koran and Sunna carried convictions of a responsible reformation rooted in a dynamic and meaningful reinterpretation of the faith.

3. Professor Whitson's address on "The Situation of Theology" revealed the need for a more comprehensive theology in the field. He noted that participants in world religions gatherings talk *to* rather than *with* one another. The several religions are now being challenged, he said, to move into genuine dialogue, seeking that universal convergence toward which "we now seem to be drawn."

Father Whitson went further to speak of the values of new communities formed by new institutions. They could in fact enable scholars of different religious and cultural backgrounds to develop shared experience, for "knowledge occurs within community." But this process is not only the exchange of ideas, said Father Whitson, it is an experience in the shared formation of ideas. All this will involve a situation of unity as the convergence of major areas of knowledge must significantly produce.

Whether the Roman Catholic Church is prepared to engage in such an undertaking was a question posed during the animated discussion that followed. While speaking for himself, Father Whitson replied that the Roman Catholic Church regarded the ecumenical situation as "maximal." Now implicitly and more and more explicitly, it regards the religious situation as universal. Concern with those of other faiths, he thought, had led to the establishment of the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Believers. The destiny of the human race seems to be the move toward union.

Father Whitson's extensive documents peered into many major phases of religious culture and thought. Embraced were Confucian and Taoist, Hindu and Buddhist, Zorostrian and Jewish, Christian and Muslim components. Far from being an eclectic trial balloon, the treatment attempted a theological synthesis under a novel definition of theology: the systematization of man's experience of definitive relationships grounded in the *theos* (and *logos*) category. But in its assess-

ment of other faiths the investigation went far beyond the imperatives of phenomenonlogy.

Actually, as in the cases of Hinduism and Islam, the evaluation seemed surprisingly inattentive to the findings of the history of religions. Some rather antiquated judgments in the field were perpetuated. Yet profound and refreshing were the radical and revolutionary tenets of Father Whitson's essay. Whereas his concept of knowledge-shared-in-community apparently leaves meager scope for maneuver in personal initiative, save on fringes of the problem, it does capitalize on an essential guideline. Such a guideline was conspicuously drawn out in a flair for the intellectual potential. Above all, it was embedded in Father Whitson's understanding of "involvement" in its humanist valuation.

4. Professor Brandon offered a definition of religion as the expression of man's instinctive quest for security resulting from the sense of insecurity triggered by a consciousness of time. However, if religion originates from a time-sense common to all mankind, this sought after security from insecurity has been conceived of in a multiplicity of forms. Both extinct and living religions show how varied and, often strange, have been the fashions in which such security parades.

The Pyramid Texts of Ancient Egypt, Iranian and Indian sacred writings, gnosticism and other relics of religious antiquity were masterfully tested by Dr. Brandon in the course of his investigation. He granted that technical examination of source material reveals a totally different conception of time in the theologies of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Here a linear rather than cyclic conception of time arises. Such a divergence in the concept of time has left an impress on the *Weltanschauung* of the western world.

Out of this Judaeo-Christian conception of time sprang a normative western doctrine of man. According to this, the individual soul was especially created for a single incarnate life in this world. It is a life construed as a proving ground for eternity. Created by the omnipotent God, the universe has a beginning and an end in divine purpose. During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, supernatural sanctions were rejected. Yet the secularized idea of progress owed its inception to the Christian valuation of history.

Although such a valuation is no longer tenable, Professor Brandon was convinced that its ghost continues to haunt western thought and culture. To this anomaly he ascribed the malaise which afflicts contem-

porary western thought. We are unable to discern any purpose or pattern in history, but he agreed, nonetheless, with Alfred North Whitehead "that that religion will conquer which can render clear to popular understanding some eternal greatness incarnate in the passage of mortal fact."

Empirical Religious Patterns

Illustrative of the empirical patterns of religious experience and practical modalities were four vastly divergent papers. Professor Huston Smith, Department of the Humanities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, delivered a major public lecture on "The Irenic Potential of Religions." Professor K. N. Jayatilleke, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, University of Ceylon, discussed "Buddhist Relativity and the One World Concept." Dr. Ali Abdel Kader, Director of the Islamic Center, Washington, D.C., offered a viewpoint on "The Islamic Involvement in the Process of History." Professor K. S. Murty, Andhra University, India, dwelt on "History, Historical Consciousness and Freedom."

1. In a keynote address, Huston Smith urged the faiths to develop what he described as their "irenic potential" by building mankind's confidence in them, by strengthening their mutual ties, and by giving careful attention to the way whereby they relate themselves to political conflicts. He noted that religious differences historically have exacerbated political divisions more than they have tempered them. To document this, Professor Smith added, we do not have to go back to the Crusades or other wars of religion; in our own life-spans there is evidence to spare.

On the central issue of our time, Marxism, Huston Smith reproduced an extraordinary stance suggested by Oxford's Professor R. C. Zaehner (*Matter and Spirit: The Convergent Spirit*, pp. 17-18). Instead of focusing on its irreligious features, Zaehner saw Marxism as an eruption in our day of an age-old essentially religious dream of human solidarity. From the beginning, he wrote, there have been within religions, two tendencies in dialectical tension with each other — the one drawing the individual ever deeper into himself, down into the "kingdom of God" that is "within you," and the other integrating him ever more closely with religious community.

In modern times, according to Zaehner, the latter tendency has re-

emerged in the Marxian hope of an infinitely perfectible world which is to come into being once the last of the social contradictions has been surmounted and man is no longer exploited by man. He regarded Marxists and Christians at one in affirming "a power that is greater than man, greater than nations, and greater than individual religions, the power that Marx identified with matter itself and which (a Christian) would identify with the 'spirit of God,' that moved upon the face of the waters before the world began, the spirit which is ever busy, however much individual men may kick against the pricks."

2. Professor Jayatilleke suggested that the Buddhist concept of relativity with its emphasis on oneness and spirituality constituted a formidable contribution to world community. Its permissive interpretative technique is an object lesson, he said, to other religions which tend to stress their exclusivity to the point where they fail to see what they have in common with one another.

Jayatilleke further maintained that Buddhist scholars had anticipated Marxist philosophy. They taught that maldistribution of goods was responsible for the loss of values and ultimately a cause of war. They advocated welfare systems to curtail poverty and unemployment. Indication of a distinct preference for self-government, moreover, was Buddhism's emphasis on equality and respect for the individual. In his exposition of Buddhist relativity, Jayatilleke adverted to the class of Buddhist doctrines and practices which he described as attractive to people of diverse conditions across many centuries. Those were tenets and acts, in his opinion, which made no exclusivist claim whatever.

Jayatilleke went on to profess that early Buddhism was by no means atheistic in the materialist and Marxist sense. He dismissed as utterly commonplace the contrast often drawn between an original atheistic Buddhism and a developed theistic variety of the so-called Mahayana school where allegedly the concept of a cosmic Buddha emerged. His contention was that both the primitive and Mahayana types were atheistic in that they knew nothing of a personal God. Parenthetically he noted, a universe created in time by an omniscient and omnipotent deity could not but figure as a rigged cosmos. If at all construed, the will of any such deity, he said, should tend to denigrate manhood, reducing man's status to that of a puppet. Any effective attempt to resolve the problem of evil and free will would then prove futile.

The distinction was made, however, that ever since its first inception,

Buddhism was theistic in inculcating the validity of moral and spiritual experience. It also subscribed to an impersonal, transcendent and ultimate reality beyond time, space, and causality. In this sense it is perfectly in order for a Buddhist to embrace a conception of God beyond theism.

3. Dr. Abdel Kader's central assumption was on this order: Islam has a comprehensive nature, intrinsically capable of setting forth guidelines for society. It is equally well equipped to guide the individual Muslim toward God, his fellow believers and human society generally.

Kader specified that Islamic involvement in the process of history cannot be adequately grasped apart from the Koran, its primary legislative source. His analysis confirmed the Koran as the "infallible Word of God which gave rise to the first Muslim state within the confines of the Arabian Peninsula."

Working through historical and juridical material Dr. Abdel Kader arrived at five principal conclusions: (1) That Islam is both religion and state; (2) that the division of the world into an abode of Islam and an abode of war is an invention of later Muslim jurists, an invention uncritically swallowed by Orientalists (his own contention being that Islam is not a religion of war but of peace); (3) that the Koran is a formidable source of legislation imparting support and meaning to Islamic intellectual life: (4) that Islamic jurisprudence derives from the Koran and meets twentieth century requirements; (5) that secularism in the Muslim world is a sign of intellectual incompetence to project a new Muslim personality in the context of modern history.

4. Professor Murty's paper constituted a singular profile of religious pluralism as it is envisaged by a top-flight Indian thinker. Historical reality is the past with a living message. He declared it is like Indus civilization which did not exist for the contemporary world till excavations begun in 1922 at Mohenjodaro and Harappa brought it to light. The ultimate aim of history is to understand human existence.

The proper key for the interpretation of human history, Murty went on to say, is man as he was, is, and shall be. Such an historical consciousness liberates us. In fleeting moments, man can grasp that history is grounded in the Absolute, that is, glory is fragmentarily manifested in history. Now and then man falls an easy prey to the illusion that the Transcendent has been or is found in a particular event or thing. Others are not quite thrilled to relate themselves to the Transcendent.

They desire to become it, or reduce it to an historical existence. A cat, however, can never become a tiger. It is not wise to try to become sugar instead of remaining content with tasting it.

Murty's reflections yielded a contribution to the problem in terms of a favored withdrawal to a philosophy that was disposed to see the light of history in man — a polymorphic being with infinite potentialities for experience. World community and social responsibility might then fall by the wayside. Such a deduction might be easily derived from Murty's assumption that human history is largely the exhibition of man's failure to convert the world into heaven and himself into deity.

Murty knew how to draw upon his knowledge of Hindu wisdom and philosophical formulations. He portrayed human history as a record of ideas and passions. One's own historical judgment liberates him from the irony of history. It is historical consciousness itself that provides freedom from history. An awareness of one's historicity leads to a communion with the transhistorical and harmonious living together of free men becomes a worthy rational ideal. Since men are not wholly rational, however, nor can become wholly free, this freedom is never fully realized. Nevertheless, such an ideal does serve as a beacon of light to humanity and should inspire perhaps some to strive for it.

Conclusions

If the proceedings netted any tangible outcome at all, this was for the most part tentative and fragmentary. It was conceivably in the area of wider understanding and sharpening of the intellect — based on an interplay between inductive/deductive processes of thought — that the participants awakened to the light of novelty and discovery.

If involvement in the question of religious truth were to be taken as the measure of authentic dialogue, then the conference as a whole fell short of the mark. Its best accomplishment was enshrined in a basic methodology of the history of religions, providing a balanced scientific vision and setting for future ventures and advance in the field of interfaith and intercultural communication.

It was made abundantly clear, however, that radical theological reform was contingent upon integrity. To go beyond 19th century and 20th century criteria and propositions in a virtually post-ecumenial and post-Christian context demands a clear-cut break with current methodologies and theologies. Certain cherished contemporary approaches are

obsolete already. Before any breakthrough in dialogue can arise, there must emerge a desire for mutual understanding. Yet even this awaits prior reckoning with understanding as such.

In order the better to understand we must structure the data of religious and cultural phenomenology. That is only another way of saying that a theology of involvement will take infinite pains to wrestle with the history of religions. In anticipation of such a newness of thought and faith, contemplation of traditionally particularist symbols of authority hopefully will lead us to a discovery: that the meaning of such symbols if depreciated now may be redeemed through the meaningful metaphors of a more inclusive polarity.

RESURGENCES D'UN PROBLEME DE METHODE EN HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS [1]

PAR

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Strasbourg

Il peut sembler à première vue que le problème de la méthode en Histoire des Religions soit réglé depuis longtemps. Comment subirait-il des pertes et présenterait-il des résurgences comme un cours d'eau en terrain crevassé?

Jean Réville qui présida le premier Congrès international d'Histoire des Religions, en 1900, à Paris, ne déclarait-il pas, en succédant à son père, le pasteur *Albert Réville,* au Collège de France, en 1906, dans la chaire d'Histoire des Religions:

„La véritable méthode historique est la même partout. Quand on l'a pratiquée soi-même en une partie quelconque de l'histoire, on acquiert par cette pratique une certaine aptitude à discerner si elle a été bien dûment appliquée ailleurs" [1]).

Cependant, il n'est pas de Congrès international de l'Histoire des Religions, et le onzième a déjà eu lieu en 1965, où la méthode n'ait été remise en question, et parfois de manière originale. Serait-ce que le sol religieux est au cours de l'histoire et de sa méthode moins favorable et plus accidenté que d'autres?

La déclaration de Jean Réville était reprise et approuvée au troisième Congrès international, en 1908, à Oxford, par le comte *Goblet d'Alviella,* de l'Académie royale de Bruxelles, président de la Section IX, consacrée à l'étude de la méthode en Histoire des Religions [2]).

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1) Cf. L'hommage rendu à Jean Réville, au Congrès d'Oxford, en 1908, in: *Transactions of the third International Congress for the History of Religions,* vol. I, p. XXXV; II, p. 377, Oxford, 1908.

2) *Ibid., II, p. 377.* La désignation de la Section était, en anglais: *Method and Scope of the History of Religions;* le thème choisi par son président: *Les Sciences auxiliaires de l'Histoire comparée des Religions.*

Mais cette adhésion était singulièrement compromise par quelques audacieux postulats. Considérant l'Histoire des Religions comme „une branche de la Science des Religions", notre savant partageait celle-ci en deux sections qu'il demandait „la permission d'appeler respective-ment l'*hiérographie* et l'*hiérologie*, en appliquant ici une distinction analogue à celle qui différencie l'ethnographie de l'ethnologie, ou, en termes plus généraux, la description de la synthèse".

Sans paraître se douter que le choix même de la racine ἱερόν introduisait dans le débat une détermination[3]) contestable, préludant au système de Rudolf Otto[4]), Goblet d'Alviella poursuit, comme si, formulée si courtoisement, sa requête ne pouvait être qu'agréée:

„L'hiérographie a pour objet de décrire toutes les religions connues et d'en retracer le développement respectif. L'hiérologie cherche à établir les rapports de concomitance et de succession entre les phéno-mènes religieux, en d'autres termes, à formuler les lois de l'évolution religieuse".

Ainsi, après avoir posé l'identité du religieux et du sacré, on sup-pose, sans plus d'examen, une évolution religieuse avec des lois. „Cette synthèse, „poursuit-on", est plus fréquemment appelée his-toire comparative des Religions, ou, plus simplement, Religion com-parée ...; cette expression a l'avantage de mettre en évidence la méthode essentielle dont fait usage l'hiérologie: la méthode compa-rative, où l'on supplée à l'insuffisance des renseignements sur l'his-toire continue d'une croyance ou d'une institution, dans une race ou une société, par des faits empruntés à d'autres milieux ou à d'autres temps"[5]).

Le moins qu'on puisse dire, c'est qu'un passage aussi brusqué de la simple méthode historique, prise comme point de départ, à cette sélection comparatiste tenue pour „méthode essentielle", ne s'impose pas logiquement.

On ne saurait souscrire ingénument à une entreprise qui n'est plus de simple recherche historique, mais de synthèse délibérée et dirigée. On ne saurait accorder à une histoire comparée d'autre méthode que celle de l'histoire avec sa part d'hypothèse nécessaire, mais limitée à la mesure d'une hypothèse de travail.

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3) *Ibid.*, p. 365.
4) Cf. *Rudolf Otto, Das Heilige*, Breslau, 1917.
5) Cf. *Transactions of the 3d. Internat. Congress ..., op. cit.*, II, 365.

Le comte d'Alviella se rend peut-être compte qu'il demande beaucoup, puisqu'il poursuit:

„Dira-t-on que c'est là, en réalité, de la philosophie, de l'*hiérosophie?* Je crois pouvoir réserver cette appellation aux tentatives pour formuler les conséquences logiques qu'entraîne, dans le domaine religieux, la conception raisonnée de nos rapports avec Dieu et l'Univers. Ainsi comprise, l'hiérosophie constitue une troisième branche de la Science des Religions. Elle renferme en effet un élément subjectif, dont elle ne peut faire abstraction, tandis que l'hiérologie, ou, comme l'a appelée M. Chantepie de la Saussaye, la phénoménologie religieuse, doit conserver le caractère objectif des sciences qui s'inspirent exclusivement des faits; on ne lui demande pas ce qu'il est raisonnable de croire, mais comment les hommes en sont venus à croire et à pratiquer certaines choses" 6).

On ne fait cependant qu'ajouter à l'exigence première en infligeant à la recherche des notions et des termes nouveaux dont la caractéristique et la nécessité n'apparaissent pas clairement. Ce que l'on nomme „hiérosophie", et qui pourrait être une philosophie du Sacré, devient une théologie quand on la ramène à l'étude des rapports de l'homme avec Dieu. L'élément subjectif qu'on lui reconnait est loin d'être absent de ce qu'on appelle „hiérologie", et qu'on identifie avec la phénoménologie religieuse.

Enfin, après avoir signalé la vogue croissante de ce qu'il a dénommé „hiérologie", le savant belge termine dans un élan généreux, mais confus:

„Quelles sont les causes de ce progrès? Il y a d'abord la conviction que l'hiérologie est possible ... Il y a ensuite une confiance grandissante dans la validité de ses conclusions ... Enfin, il y a la conscience de son utilité qui ne réside pas simplement dans la satisfaction d'une curiosité scientifique. Son existence même implique l'admission de l'idée que, sous toutes les divergences religieuses, il y a une certaine unité de principe et de lois. Cette renaissance, en une forme abstraite et rajeunie, de l'ancienne doctrine d'une religion naturelle, n'est faite pour déplaire ni à ceux qui, dans n'importe quel culte, — et leur nombre grandit, s'il faut en juger par des manifestations comme le Congrès des Religions de Chicago, — voudraient dégager

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6) *Ibid.*, p. 366.

de toutes ces divergences la loi même du progrès religieux, ni à ceux qui, sans appartenir à aucune confession déterminée, rêvent d'enrôler la religion dans une croisade pour un peu plus de tolérance et de fraternité parmi les hommes" [7]).

Pourquoi, demandera-t-on peut-être, accorder tant d'importance et de place à des propos vieux de soixante ans, alors que la Science des Religions a continué, depuis, sa marche en avant, á une allure accélérée? — Mais, répondra-t-on d'abord, parce que les confusions signalées sont loin d'avoir disparu, en particulier la dernière qui compromet la nature désintéressée de la recherche scientifique en y mêlant un pragmatisme dont la bonne intention ne peut qu'accroître le danger [8]). De plus, sans rien céder des droits et des devoirs de l'historien, on risque moins d'envenimer le débat en choisissant un cas déjà ancien, mais typique, toute révérence gardée pour le savant mis en cause, et pour la valeur de ses travaux [9]).

On partira donc de ces observations pour serrer de plus près un problème de méthode qui se dérobe trop souvent, à la faveur des mêmes confusions.

I. *Religieux et sacré*

Poser comme identiques le religieux et le sacré, ainsi qu'on l'a fait couramment depuis la modeste requête de Goblet d'Alviella, mais surtout à la faveur du puissant mouvement d'opinion suscité par *Rudolf Otto,* est, en réalité, une démarche hardie que beaucoup ont jugée téméraire.

Das Heilige [10]) a trouvé, dès sa parution, des critiques pénétrants, non seulement dans le camp où se maintenait un rationalisme par nature circonspect, mais dans celui où soufflait le vent contraire, dominant à l'époque. C'est ainsi que *Walter Scheller,* bien qu'irrationaliste en religion, estimait que l'irrationnel offert dans le Sacré par Otto, serait une catégorie du superstitieux plutôt que du reli-

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7) *Ibid.,* p. 378-379.

8) Ce risque a été mis en évidence dans de récents Congrès, notamment à Marburg et à Claremont. Cf. *infra.*

9) Cf. *Goblet d'Alviella:* Divers articles et qualifications indiqués dans *Encycl. of Relig. & Ethics* (ERE), vol. XIII, p. 720, Edinburgh, 1926; surtout, *Croyances, rites, institutions,* 3 vol., Paris, 1911, où il admet (II, 98) que ses reconstructions en religion comparée ont „un caractère empirique et provisoire".

10) *Op cit.*; plus de 30 éditions depuis 1917.

gieux [11]). Après une analyse serrée de cette notion confuse, Scheller conclut qu'elle n'a rien, au demeurant, d'une catégorie qui, par définition, serait universelle et nécessaire. Il est impossible, en effet, de prétendre que tous les hommes religieux aient la notion du Sacré tel qu'Otto cherche à le définir, après avoir dit qu'il était indéfinissable [12]). La confusion était telle qu'au premier Congrès international de psychologie religieuse, en 1931, à Vienne, nous avons entendu certains partisans des thèses de Rudolf Otto conclure à l'incapacité religieuse congénitale de ceux qui ne peuvent éprouver cet „Urphänomen" fondamental et central de la foi [13]). Placés, dans la discussion, devant les conséquences théoriques et pratiques d'un tel radicalisme, ces fervents du Sacré se contentèrent généralement de retenir une inégalité d'aptitude à la foi. Nous avons essayé de montrer, à l'époque, à quel point le système de Rudolf Otto nous paraissait inadéquat et peu satisfaisant, aussi bien sur le plan de la foi que sur celui de la recherche scientifique [14]). Plus récemment, nous avons signalé quel changement radical dans la notion même du sacré le prophétisme hébreu, puis le message évangélique avaient opéré [15]).

Au cours des ans, et récemment encore, les points faibles du système d'Otto ont été relevés par des historiens qui tout en rendant hommage au mouvement d'intérêt et aux travaux qu'il a suscités, ne peuvent en admettre les postulats. Tel est le cas de *Kurt Rudolph* dans son remarquable aperçu du développement de l'Histoire des Religions dans les Universités germaniques, et spécialement à Leipzig [16]). Tandis que *G. Mensching* voyait dans les thèses d'Otto

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11) *Walter Scheller: Die Absolutheit des Christentums,* p. 27-35, Göttingen, 1929.

12) *R. Otto, op. cit., trad. franç.,* p. 33, Paris, 1929. *(Le Sacré,* par A. Jundt).

13) Cf. *Karl Beth: Verhandl. des Ersten Internat. Religionspsych. Kongr. der Internat. Religionspsychol. Gesellschaft,* III, p. 1-11, Dresden, 1933. Le thème général du Congrès était: *Psychologie des Unglaubens.* Contre la thèse des incapacités, nous y faisions ressortir les responsabilités: *ibid.,* p. 11 et 66-84.

14) Dans une série de cours à l'Université de Genève, en 1930, publiée sous ce titre: *Henri Clavier: L'Humanisme et la Piété chrétienne,* Paris, 1932; cf. p. 57 ss., et réf. au Congrès de Vienne, p. 59, n. 42.

15) Au 8ème Congrès International d'Hist. des Relig. à Rome, 1955, où le thème c entral était: *La Regalita Sacra.* Cf. *Atti ...,* Firenze, 1956, et: *H. Clavier: Théocratie et Monarchie selon l'Evangile,* in *Studies in the History of Religions (Suppl. to Numen),* p. 456, Leiden, 1959.

16) *Kurt Rudolph: Die Religionsgeschichte an der Leipziger Universität und die Entwicklung der Religionswissenschaft,* Berlin, 1962.

l'aboutissement heureux d'une évolution marquée par les grands noms de Lessing, Herder, Schleiermacher, etc., Kurt Rudolph estime que ce processus même fut ruineux pour la science des religions [17]). C'est ce que pensait également l'ethnologue *F. R. Lehmann* [18]) et son successeur à Leipzig, *Walter Baetke*. Le premier, dans une étude remarquée sur la notion de *mana* [19]), s'élevait contre l'usage incon-sidéré de la psychologie des peuples prétendus primitifs pour appuyer les thèses d'Otto. Quant au second, il dénonçait la subjectivité d'un „numineux" faussement objectif et lui opposait la réalité communau-taire du culte dans ses rapports avec l'éthique [20]). Il se référait aux travaux de *Robert Will* à Strasbourg, et de l'école scandinave [21]).

Ces critiques variées, dans ce qu'elles ont de légitime, font ressortir suffisamment l'impossibilité de confondre le religieux et le sacré. La dénonciation du subjectivisme larvé de certaines prétentions à l'ob-jectivité ne manque pas de finesse; mais le critique doit prendre garde de ne pas se fourvoyer lui-même, en prétendant à d'autres objectivités qui ne seraient pas moins subjectives.

II. *La recherche de l'objectivité*

La recherche de l'objectivité, par l'application d'une méthode rigoureuse, est requise dans quelque science que ce soit. Mais il faut bien se dire que cette objectivité, si appréciable qu'elle soit, ne saurait jamais être que relative. Il est des principes élémentaires d'épisté-mologie qui doivent rester présents à l'esprit. L'objet ne peut être saisi que par une démarche initiale du sujet; il ne peut être connu que par l'appréhension et la compréhension du sujet. Ainsi, quand on parle de faits, de méthode des faits, on ne peut oublier qu'il s'agit

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17) *Ibid.*, p. 55-64. Cf., d'autre part: *Gustav Mensching: Das heilige Schwei-gen, passim,* et notamment, p. 11-19, Giessen, 1926. Les affinités entre le Sacré et le Magique sont suggérées ou dénoncées par *Maurice Pradines: Esprit de la Religion,* p. 199-219, Paris, 1941. Sur la distinction essentielle à faire entre Magie et Religion, cf.: *Raoul Allier: Magie et Religion,* Paris, 1935.

18) Cf. *K. Rudolph; op. cit.,* p. 153 s.

19) *F. R. Lehmann: Mana,* p. 344, Leipzig, 1922.

20) Cf. *K. Rudolph: op. cit.,* p. 164-170.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 167. Cf. *Robert Will: Le Culte,* 3 vol., Strasbourg-Paris, *1925-1935,* et *Geo Widengren: Religionens Värld,* Stockholm, 1945, notamment p. 162 ss.

de faits observés, enregistrés, pensés. La remarque de *Fouillée*[22])
reste toujours valable:

„Un fait qui ne serait qu'un fait n'aurait pas plus de durée qu'un
clin d'œil: il ne laisserait dans l'esprit aucun souvenir, aucune pré-
vision; il n'aurait fait que passer et ne serait déjà plus. Pour le
science, il n'y a pas de fait pur, il n'y a que des faits pensés; or,
un fait pensé, c'est déjà un rudiment de loi et de théorie".

La distinction verbale ou réfléchie entre un fait ainsi „psychifié"
et le phénomène d'origine, entre psychologie et *phénoménologie* ne
change rien à l'essentiel. On a vu qu'en 1908, Goblet d'Alviella con-
sidérait sa „hiérologie" comme une phénoménologie"[23]). Déjà *Chan-
tepie de la Saussaye* empruntait à *Hegel* ce terme de phénoménologie,
pour l'introduire en Histoire des religions. Néanmoins, *André
Lalande* pouvait encore écrire en 1926, dans son Vocabulaire de la
philosophie[24]: „Ce mot ne me paraît pas usuel en français; je ne
l'ai jamais rencontré que dans des traductions ou des analyses d'au-
teurs étrangers". Il faut constater qu'on l'utilise aujourd'hui couram-
ment, bien que le sens à lui donner n'apparaisse pas toujours très
clairement. *Hamilton* en faisait un synonyme de psychologie[25]).
Récemment, *Amédée Ponceau,* dans son „Initiation philosophique",
considère les phénoménologues comme des psychologues opposés au
phénoménisme[26]): ce sont „les psychologues de notre temps qui ont
le plus fortement insisté sur le déploiement d'un en deça psychique
de la représentation. Pour qualifier cette tendance, nous pourrions
aussi employer l'expression de doctrine *psychiste,* à lauqelle nous
avons antérieurement eu recours". *Maurice Merleau-Ponty,* continua-

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22) *A. Fouillée: La Pensée et les nouvelles écoles anti-intellectualistes,* p. 219,
Paris, 1911.

23) Cf. *supra.*

24) *A. Lalande: Vocabulaire technique et critique de la Philosophie,* vol. II,
p. 581, Paris, 1926. Cf. pourtant, Jean Hering: *Phénoménologie* et *Philosophie
religieuse,* Paris, 1926.

25) *Ibid.* Cf., par contre, l'usage et le sens du terme chez le philosophe de
l'Inconscient: *Ed. von Hartmann: Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins,
Vorwort* et *passim,* Berlin 1879. — Sur les schèmes phénoménologiques en
Histoire des Religions, notamment de Hegel, von Hartmann, Tiele et Siebeck,
Cf.: *Chantepie de la Saussaye: Manuel d'Hist. der Relig.,* Introd., *Trad. franç.,*
Paris, 1921.

26) *A. Ponceau: Initiation philosophique,* vol. II, p. 55 s., Paris, 1964;
comp. *J. Hering: op. cit.*

teur français de *Husserl,* dernière manière, serait-il pleinement d'accord avec cette spécification? Toujours est-il qu'il reproche à *Karl Marx* d'avoir dévié de l'intuition première d'une „rationalité … au cœur de la *praxis* interhumaine, (où) certains faits historiques prennent une signification métaphysique", pour „transformer la dialectique de la conscience en dialectique de la matière ou des choses" [27]). Cette erreur des marxistes dont le maître est peut-être responsable à l'origine, est un exemple flagrant de la difficulté d'échapper au subjectivisme dans la recherche la plus déclarée de l'objectivité. Merleau-Ponty, se rapproche alors singulièrement du rationaliste Fouillée, en observant :

„Quand un homme dit qu'il y a une dialectique dans les choses, ce ne peut être que dans les choses en tant qu'il les pense et cette objectivité est finalement le comble du subjectivisme, comme l'exemple de Hegel l'avait montré" [28]).

La nuance distinctive entre des réflexions qui convergent ici pourrait être dans l'importance plus ou moins grande accordée à la *participation* et à l'*intention.* La chose en soi, l'être en soi nous échappe ; mais cette constatation ne conduit pas nécessairement à cet agnosticisme radical que l'on reproche parfois, injustement, au philosophe de Königsberg. Un certain symbolisme ne l'implique nullement et peut donc échapper à l'illusion totale d'une *Maia* d' „Absurdie". Le symbole est un signe, et le signe n'est pas qui ne signifie rien d'accessible à notre entendement. Les ombres de la caverne de *Platon* n'ont pas le coloris des scènes qui se jouent au dehors ; mais du moins en ont-elles vaguement les formes [29]). Une certaine connaissance du monde est donc encore possible avec ce minimum. Il ne semble pas que la critique de *Kant* oblige à le nier, surtout si l'on admet qu'elle soit corrigée selon le vœu de *Renouvier,* en désolidarisant le temps de l'espace [30]), ou, si, avec *Lachelier,* on l'oriente délibérément, de

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27) *Merleau-Ponty: Eloge de la Philosophie,* Paris, 1953, cité dans : *G. Picon: Panorama des Idées contemporaines,* p. 94, Paris, 1957.

28) *Ibid.* On peut en dire autant de *von Hartmann: op. cit.,* p. V-VII, etc.

29) *Platon: République,* livre VII.

30) Cf. *Charles Renouvier: La Nouvelle Monadologie,* Paris, 1899; *Le Personnalisme,* suivi d'une *Etude sur La perception externe et sur la Force,* Paris, 1903; 2e éd. 1926.

dégagement en dégagement d'illusions successives, vers la réalité de l'objet [31]).

Ce dégagement progressif s'opère par une herméneutique fondamentale qui, sans aller jusqu'au fin fond du réel, en interprète les symbolismes stratifiés, jusqu'aux couches les plus profondes qu'il lui soit possible d'atteindre. Comment cette herméneutique de l'objet, même avec un maximum de rigueur, serait-elle dénuée de toute orientation subjective? Comment pourrait- elle pénétrer, de degré en degré, dans le sub — ou le supra-liminal sans une participation croissante du sujet et de l'objet? On peut, certes, exiger du chercheur un relatif désengagement par rapport à tout système préconçu; mais on ne peut lui refuser l'hypothèse de travail sans laquelle une recherche à l'aveuglette ou à l'aventure n'aura pas d'efficacité, à moins de quelque heureux hasard aussi imprévisible qu'exceptionnel.

Une herméneutique orientée peut l'être dans divers sens. Les fines remarques de *Paul Ricœur* à propos du langage [32]) seraient ici valables en Histoire des Religions. Nul n'en sera surpris qui sait jusqu'à quel point l'on peut rapprocher et associer *nomina* et *numina* [33]). A l'archéologie des symboles mise en lumière par *Freud,* il convient d'ajouter une téléologie non moins indispensable pour débrouiller les problèmes complexes d'une dialectique de l'histoire. Ce n'est pas seulement en arrière, mais aussi en avant qu'il faut aller pour trouver la clef de l'énigme: *quo signum tendit* [34]).

Le phénomène en tant qu'évènement, ce qui se produit, ce qui arrive a une origine et une fin qu'il s'agit de déchiffrer. De toutes façons, la réception et l'enregistrement ne peuvent être que subjectifs. C'est d'une telle évidence que l'ingénuité d'un certain „chosisme"

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31) Cf. *Jules Lachelier: Le Fondement de l'Induction,* Paris, 1871; *Psychologie et Métaphysique,* Paris, 1885; *Gaston Mauchaussat: L'Idéalisme de Lachelier,* Paris, 1961. Comp. l'„intentionalisme" de *Husserl.*

32) Cf. *Paul Ricœur: De L'Interprétation,* Paris, 1965.

33) *Nomina-Numina:* c'était comme le mot d'ordre des précurseurs de l'Ecole philologique ou linguistique en Histoire des Religions, avec *John Selden* et *Ralph Cudworth,* en attendant qu'elle fût illustrée par *Max Müller.* Les excès du philologisme ne doivent pas faire oublier sa part de vérité.

34) Cette clef du sacrement selon *Calvin* pourrait être, *mutatis mutandis,* celle de l'herméneutique du langage, telle que l'entend, avec pénétration, *Ricœur: quo signum tendit.* Cf. *H. Clavier: Le Langage en tant qu'agent de division et d'union,* dans les *Actes du XIème Congrès de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes,* Madrid, 1967.

en devient hilarante. Merleau-Ponty le décelait dans un marxisme simpliste [35]). Le positivisme d'*Auguste Comte* avec son prolongement religieux, y préludait plus naïvement encore [36]). L'un des aspects comiques d'une position dont on n'ignore pas les traits plus favorables, est l'appel à la Science (avec une majuscule), tandis que la science toute simple dépouille graduellement le monde de son apparence illusoire. Ce que l'on écrivait en 1924 est encore plus patent aujourd'hui:

„... la science elle-même vient à l'appui de la philosophie: la figure du monde, toujours la même au regard des hommes et pour le sens commun, se modifie à chaque découverte. Toute grande hypothèse scientifique nouvelle change la face de l'univers ... Que sont enfin ces éléments impondérables dont les systèmes matérialistes les plus stricts ne peuvent se défaire: *clinamen* de Lucrèce, *force* de Büchner, *énergie* ..."? [37]). Comment ne pas y voir des projections de l'esprit humain dans l'énigme physique indéchiffrable sans lui?

Si l'on passait maintenant aux phénomènes tenus pour religieux, comment pourrait-on les restreindre à ceux qui s'extériorisent, en s'exclamant naïvement devant les plus spectaculaires: „Ça, c'est de la religion!" [38])? Ne seraient-ils pas, au contraire, entre tous ceux qui ont affaire avec la religion, les plus superficiels, les moins chargés, les moins pénétrés de religion?

III. *La variété des phénomènes religieux*

Les phénomènes tenus communément pour religieux sont innombrables, et d'une grande diversité. Comment les reconnaître? Quels

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35) Cf. *Merleau-Ponty: op. cit., ibid.*

36) Cf. *Auguste Comte:* Pensées et Préceptes, p. 254, 266, Paris, 1924; *Renouvier: Critique philosophique,* p. 81 ss, Paris, 1878, démasquait dans le *Comtisme* ce qu'il tenait pour un matérialisme honteux; la critique plus nuancée que *Merleau-Ponty, op cit.,* fait du *Marxisme* peut être mise en parallèle avec celle de Renouvier. Sur *l'Humanisme positiviste* et la Religion d'Auguste Comte, cf. *H. Clavier: L'Humanisme et la Piété chrétienne, op. cit.,* p. 27-33.

37) *H. Clavier: Le Christ de l'Expérience,* p. 8, Paris, 1925; *H. C. L'Humanisme ..., op. cit.,* p. 19. Cf. *Raymond Ruyer: Paradoxes de la Conscience et limites de l'automatisme,* Paris, 1966, où les thèses de l'auteur dans sa *Psychobiologie* sont reprises et remarquablement confrontées avec les résultats de la science la plus moderne.

38) On a eu la surprise amusée, pour ne pas dire plus, d'entendre cette remarque, au retour du spectacle d'une crémation rituelle sur le ponton *ad hoc* du fleuve, à Calcutta.

sont les traits caractéristiques permettant de les identifier comme
tels? La question est d'importance au seuil d'une recherche non pas
d'histoire quelconque, fût-elle captivante, mais d'histoire des religions.
Ce problème liminaire ne serait-il pas, en bonne méthode, le premier
à poser et à résoudre? C'est ce que ressentait le regretté *Hideo
Kishimoto,* lorsqu'il demandait que chacun, dès le début de son
enquête, dise bien ce qu'il entend par religion [39]). Il n'exigeait pas
plus que ce qu'il appelait „une définition opérationnelle", sujette à
discussion, à confrontation et à révision au cours de la recherche, et
cette discrétion était d'une grande sagesse. *William James* qui a
initié toute une génération, et jusqu'au grand public, aux variétés de
l'expérience religieuse [40]), se rendait parfaitement compte de la
complexité d'un problème qui parait si simple théoriquement, puis-
qu'il s'agit de savoir exactement ce que l'on veut faire [41]). C'est donc
seulement à la fin de son ouvrage que William James croit pouvoir
concentrer dans le surnaturel divin la puissance effective d'une reli-
gion qui rende, et qui justifie l'attitude pragmatiste qu'il adopte per-
sonnellement [42]).

Il pourrait être intéressant de rappeler ici les grandes phases du
débat séculaire sur l'essence de la religion, avec la succession des
écoles et des systèmes qui se sont affrontés [43]). Bien que les deux
problèmes ne soient pas identiques, celui de l'origine de la religion y
était généralement associé. L'un des sommets de la discussion nous
semble avoir été l'échange de vues relativement récent, et qui se
prolonge, entre les partisans d'une origine et d'une essence imper-

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39) *Hideo Kishimoto: An operational definition of Religion,* in *Numen,*
VIII, 3, p. 236-240, Leiden, 1961.

40) *William James: The Varieties of Religious Experience,* Londres, 1903;
trad. franc. par *Frank Abauzit,* avec *Préface* d'*Emile Boutroux: L'Expérience
religieuse,* Paris, 1908.

41) Cf. *Kishimoto: art. cit.,* p. 237; *H. Clavier: L'Humanisme ... op. cit.,*
p. 15. s.

42) Cf. *W. James,* (trad. Abauzit), *op. cit.,* p. 24, 27, 427, 431; *Pragmatism,
a new name for some old ways of thinking,* p. 121 ss., 218 ss., 239 ss., Londres,
1907.

43) Cf. *The History of Religions,* ed. by *Mircea Eliade* and *Joseph M. Kita-
gawa,* in memory of *Joachim Wach,* Chicago, 1959; 2e éd. 1962; — *H. Pinard
de la Boullaye: L'Etude comparée des Religions,* 3 vol.; vol. I: *Son Histoire
dans le Monde occidental,* Paris, 1922; 4e éd. 1924.

sonnelles de la religion, et ceux qui, selon la thèse classique, s'arrêtent à une notion plus ou moins personnelle du divin [44]).

L'étude historique du débat montre à quel point le chercheur le plus désintéressé court le risque de se laisser influencer par une tradition ou par des convictions qui l'engagent consciemment ou inconsciemment. Cependant, nul ne niera que le risque doive être couru Il s'agit d'y être attentif, chacun pour sa part, afin, autant que possible, d'en conjurer la menace.

C'est ainsi que Kishimoto, dans son essai de „définition opérationnelle" de la religion, fait un effort évident et fort louable d'impartialité. Tout en écartant la notion de sacré comme n'étant pas universelle, il reconnaît qu'elle s'attache, sous des formes diverses, à un grand nombre de faits tenus pour religieux, notamment par la recherche de la sainteté, là où l'exigence morale est la plus caractérisée [45]).

Pour une raison semblable, (un défaut, pense-t-il, d'universalité), Kishimoto écarte également la notion de Dieu, tout en reconnaissant qu'elle est très souvent associée à ce qu'on nomme religion. Il y aurait, en fait, des religions athées, le Bouddhisme, par exemple. On peut lui objecter que le Bouddhisme auquel il pense est une philosophie, et que partout où elle devient religieuse en fait, jusque dans sa tradition la plus rigide, celle du Hinayana, elle s'est forgée des personnages divins [46]). Il en est de même pour la métaphysique des Oupanichads lorsqu'elle se mue en un Hindouisme concrètement religieux,

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44) Cf. *Lehmann: op. cit.; R. Allier:* op. cit., p. 73 ss.; *M. Pradines: op. cit.,* p. 201 ss.; *Mircea Eliade: Traité d'Histoire des Religions,* p. 31 ss., Paris, 1949; *E. O. James: History of Religions,* p. 2 ss., New York, 1957; *Paul Radin: Die religiöse Erfahrung der Naturvölker,* p. 90 ss., Zurich, 1951; *Pinard de la Boullaye; op. cit.* vol. I, p. 389 ss.; II, 219 ss., 290; *H. C.: L'Humanisme. ..., op. cit.,* p. 48 ss., 62 ss.; *H. C.: L'Expérience de la Vie Eternelle,* p. 98, Paris, 1923; *Le Christ de l'Expérience, op. cit.,* p. 67 s.
45) Cf. *Kishimoto: art. cit.,* p. 239.
46) *Ibid.,* p. 238 s. Cf. *Présence du Bouddhisme,* avec *Préface* de *Jean Filiozat, passim,* et notamment, p. 702 ss., 743 ss., etc. ..., éd. France-Asie, Saïgon-Paris, 1959; *H. Clavier: Faith and Works in East and West,* in *Proceedings of the IXth Internation. Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1958,* p. 259 s., Tokyo, 1960, et *La Foi, le Mérite et la Grâce dans les Religions d'Extrême Orient et dans le Christianisme,* p. 6 s., in *Rev. d'Hist. & de Philos. Relig. (R.H.P.R.),* 1962. Cf. *Kishimoto* lui-même, p. 239, *initio.*

avec sa floraison de dieux [47]). Il semble qu'une certaine méditation
perde son caractère religieux en répudiant la notion du divin person-
nel et qu'elle retrouve ce caractère en faisant revivre cette notion. Un
chassé-croisé analogue pourrait se produire entre cette même notion
et celle de *mana,* qui n'est pas nécessairement primitive [48]).

C'est pourquoi la conclusion de Kishimoto parait insuffisante en
définissant la religion: un système dynamique de valeur ... en vue
d'élucider le sens ultime de la vie, en relation avec la solution der-
nière de ses problèmes [49]). Il s'agit, semble-t-il, d'un effet religieux
plutôt que de sa cause. Le risque de confondre l'effet avec la cause
se présente devant toute relation étroite, intime de ce qui est propre-
ment religieux avec autre chose. L'un des exemples les plus typiques
en est fourni par certaines explications purement sociologiques de la
religion. La critique n'en est plus à faire [50]).

Tout historien que l'esprit de système n'égare pas sait bien que les
religions les plus „socialisées" sont loin d'être toujours les plus
vivantes. Quand la divinité n'est plus qu'un prête-nom de la cité, de
la nation, d'un parti, voire de l'humanité, elle est religieusement mori-
bonde, si elle n'est déjà morte, et la religion authentique avec elle.

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47) Cf. *H. Clavier: ibid., Proceedings* ..., p. 257; *R.H.P.R.* ..., p. 4, 14 s.;
Les Religions de l'Inde, in *A travers les Religions du Monde,* p. 51 s., 59, Paris,
1959.

48) Cf. *supra,* n. 44, et l'aveu, d'une belle sincérité, de *J. G. Frazer: Totem-
ism and Exogamy,* vol. I, p. XIII et vol. IV, p. 5, 76, 81, Londres, 1910, 1911.
Cet aveu équivaut à l'abandon du système totémiste et tabouiste, proche du
manaïsme, auquel Frazer, en suivant *John Lubbock,* s'était rattaché jusque là.

49) Cf. *Kishimoto: art. cit.,* p. 240. Il faut savoir gré au professeur japonais
de n'avoir point usé du mythe Orient-Occident aussi arbitraire que celui d'une
mentalité primitive, quoique très différent. Cf. l'analyse et le rejet de ce mythe
par *Kurt Goldammer: Der Mythus von Ost und West,* p. 9, 51 ss., 92, 95 ss.;
cf. in *Proceedings* ..., *op. cit.,* et dans la partie *Symposium,* l'analyse compara-
tive des cultures orientale et occidentale, par *Dandekar, Goodenough* et *Jansen,*
p. 667-683, et l'esquisse de notre point de vue sur ce thème: p. 684 ss., 690 s.
Cf. par contre, *Ernst Benz: On understanding non-christian Religions,* in
M. Eliade & Kitagawa: The Hist. of R., op. cit., p. 120 ss., 128 ss.

50) *Emile Durkheim: Les règles de la méthode sociologique,* Paris, 1895, *Les
Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse,* Paris, 1912 et, particulièrement,
Lévy-Brühl: Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures, Paris, 1910,
La mentalité primitive, Paris, 1922, ont trouvé un critique pénétrant en *Raoul
Allier: Le non-civilisé et nous,* Paris, 1927; *Magie et Religion,* Paris, 1935.
Cf. le point de vue de *Maurice Pradines:* op. cit., p. 303 ss., 307 ss., celui de
Joachim Wach: Sociology of Religion, Chicago, 1944, et la critique de *Kita-
gawa:* op. cit., p. 20 s.

Tel fut le cas des cultes officiels dans l'antiquité [51]). Tel est le cas de la religion dite de l'humanité, rêvée et tentée par Auguste Comte [52]). Tel est le cas de certaines Eglises, fortement structurées, où les institutions, les formes liturgiques, les dogmes et les canons finissent par étouffer le feu intérieur, la flamme proprement religieuse [53]).

Il convient même d'ajouter ici que les activités sociales ou autres, tenues habituellement, et justement, pour les signes extérieurs d'une richesse et d'une vitalité religieuses, ne doivent pas être confondues avec cette flamme. Un divorce ruineux, si paradoxal soit-il, peut s'établir entre elles. Ce risque a été signalé par les apôtres d'une grâce inconditionnelle, non seulement dans le christianisme, mais dans d'autres cultes [54]). L'explosion du *sola gratia, sola fide* dans un ordre reçu a eu des moments d'éclat dans l'histoire, notamment avec Saint-Paul [55]). En 1 Cor. 13, cet hymne à l'amour total, dont l'inspiration spécifiquement religieuse est d'une saisissante et splendide évidence, l'apôtre va jusqu'à distinguer de ce divin amour l'offrande même du martyr, l'offrande de son corps au bûcher [56]).

Ainsi, de proche en proche, en mettant non certes au rancart, mais à côté ou entre parenthèses tout ce qui, dans l'abondance et la variété des faits dits religieux, paraît à distinguer de la religion proprement dite, l'on est amené à une concentration de plus en plus serrée et fixée sur l'intériorité, sur l'intimité de la religion. On conçoit que ce processus, dont l'exigence est radicale, fasse renacler tel érudit en manifestations sensibles, voire sensationnelles, passant pour religieuses. Mais son effort, peut-être considérable et méritoire, risque de passer à côté de la recherche qu'il se proposait et, a fortiori, du but qu'il voulait atteindre.

Serait - on finalement en mesure de définir la religion par une

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51) Cf. *L. Gernet* et *A. Boulanger: Le Génie grec dans la Religion*, p. 114 ss., 123 ss., 399 ss., Paris, 1932; *Pierre Fabre: Rome*, in: *Histoire Générale des Religions*, vol. I, p. 362 ss., 368 s., 374 ss.

52) Cf. *supra,* n. 36.

53) Il y a toujours tension, quand ce n'est pas conflit, entre l'institution et l'évènement, le rite et la vie, le prêtre et le prophète, la lettre et l'esprit ... même quand un accord, un *modus vivendi* semblent atteints provisoirement.

54) Ainsi dans les *Bhaktis* brahmanique ou bouddhique. Cf. *supra,* n. 46 & 47.

55) Cf. *H. C.: La Foi, le Mérite et la Grâce, art. cit.,* p. 11 s.

56) Cf. *1 Corinthiens,* 13:3.

certaine confluence, une convergence des religions, en supposant
peut - être que l'on en saisirait ainsi l'alpha en même temps que
l'oméga? Il faudrait, pour cela, pouvoir constater dans les faits cette
évolution religieuse à laquelle croyait le comte d'Alviella [57]), et, bien
que diversement, beaucoup d'autres avec lui [58]). Mais ce n'est pas le
cas, et quelle que soit la déception que l'on en éprouve, la vérité
oblige à dire que cette prétendue évolution, avec ses lois, n'est qu'une
vue de l'esprit, une théorie qui n'est pas inscrite dans les faits [59]).
Présumer que l'on va pouvoir, en comparant les religions, se servir
des pleins de l'une pour boucher les trous de l'autre, et les aligner
toutes sur le même cordeau, après ce remaniement, est un leurre,
que d'ailleurs toutes répudieront, en proportion de leur vitalité.
L'extraordinaire variété des expériences religieuses se prolonge en
une variété similaire des développements religieux.

Au terme d'évolution, marqué par le système [60]), on préférera
celui, plus neutre, de développement. Il y a, sans doute, des dévelop-
pements analogues dans des religions différentes, sous l'effet de fac-
teurs similaires. C'est ainsi qu'une grande prospérité, une situation
sociale privilégiée, la faveur du pouvoir exercent, en général, une
influence fâcheuse sur la vie religieuse d'une communauté. Mais
quand on entre dans le détail, on s'aperçoit qu'aucun des processus
n'est identique à l'autre et, que, dans les reculs comme dans les
progrès, une sorte de spécificité transparaît, propre à chaque religion
bien caractérisée.

La même observation pourra se faire dans la comparaison d'autres
parallélismes: celui de la tendance à l'unité divine, celui de la desinté-

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57) Cf. *supra*, n. 5.

58) Ainsi, *Herbert Spencer*, et, d'une manière générale, tous ceux qui voient
progresser la religion à partir de ce qu'ils considèrent comme ses formes élé-
mentaires.

59) Cf., entre autres critiques pénétrants d'un Evolutionnisme systématique,
André Lalande: Les illusions évolutionnistes, Paris, 1930, et, plus spécialement
dans le domaine de d'Histoire des Religions: *P. Oltramare: L'évolutionnisme et
l'Hist. des Relig.*, dans *Actes du Ier Congrès*, Paris 1900, III, 40 ss. et *Rev.
Hist. d. Rel. (R.H.R.)*, 1901, p. 174-184; *G. Foucart: Hist. d. Relig. & méthode
comparative*, Paris 1912; *R. Pettazzoni: Il Metodo comparativo, passim*, in
Numen, VI, 1 p. 1-14, Leiden, 1959. Pour une évolution autre que celle de
l'Evolutionnisme nécessitaire, cf. déjà: *Franz Leenhardt: L'Evolution, doctrine
de Liberté*, p. 4 s., 112 ss., 154 s., Neuchâtel, 1910, et, du même: *Essai sur
l'activité créatrice: Evolution-Rédemption*, Paris 1922.

60) *Ibid.*, et notamment, *Pettazzoni*, p. 3 s.

gration de cette unité en ses attributs [61]), celui de la transcendance
d'une divinité jusqu'au point où un renversement de direction fait
surgir des intermédiaires [62]). On ne saurait pourtant parler de lois
au sens rigoureux et scientifique du terme. Seul le développement,
dans un sens ou dans l'autre, est une loi, bien que pas fatalement
dans la perspective héraclitéenne du παντα ρεῖ [63]), mais, simple-
ment, parce que la vie ne s'arrête pas, ne se fige pas; elle se meut,
et cela est vrai de la vie spirituelle, autant et plus que de la vie
physique. Ce mouvement n'est pas soumis à un automatisme que l'on
pourrait déclencher, contrôler, programmer dans un processus méca-
nique. L'Evolution ainsi conçue, avec une majuscule, devient une
sorte de *deus ex machina* qui règle tout, théoriquement [64]). Un his-
torien attentif aux faits ne peut leur imposer ce carcan. „La science
des religions", écrit *Dumézil*, „renonce à prescrire *a posteriori,* si l'on
peut dire, une évolution-type, une marche obligée, aux formes reli-
gieuses du passé" [65]).

Si donc les parallèles, dans les cultes variés, ne sont jamais iden-
tiques, ce n'est jamais non plus par le même processus qu'ils ont
atteint à leur analogie. C'était ce que *Montesquieu* constatait pour les

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61) Le processus apparaît de manières variées, dans la constitution des pan-
théons autour d'une divinité supérieure qui, tantôt synthétise les fonctions de
ses subalternes, et tantôt s'analyse, pour ainsi dire, en eux.

62) Ainsi, l'hypertranscendance d'Allah n'est pas étrangère à la prolifération
des anges et des esprits intermédiaires. Un processus analogue, sinon identique,
apparaît dans les hypostases de Jahveh.

63) Ce qui semble manquer dans la formule héraclitéenne, à laquelle s'appa-
rente la *durée* bergsonienne, c'est la notion de simultanéité dans le temps, lequel
n'est pas exclusivement rapport de succession. Cf. *H. C.: L'Exp. de la Vie
Eternelle, op. cit.,* p. 191 s.

64) *H. S. Nyberg* décrit ainsi l'Evolution systématique: „Entwicklung ist
eine Art unpersönlicher Gottheit, die mit mechanischer Notwendigkeit wirkt.
Alles „schreitet fort" von Klarheit zu Klarheit, wie von selbst", d'ap. *Kurt
Rudolph: op. cit.,* p. 171. Cf., par contre *F. Leenhardt: op. cit.*

65) *Dumézil* ajoute judicieusement: „Qu'on se place au XXe siècle ou six
mille ans plus tôt, on ne remonte jamais loin dans la vie d'aucune portion de
l'humanité; on ne se trouve jamais que devant les résultats d'une maturation et
d'accidents qui ont occupé des dizaines de siècles; et l'on se dit que le Poly-
nésien et l'Indo-Européen, le Sémite et le Chinois, ont pu parvenir à leurs
notions religieuses, à leurs figures de dieux, par des voies diverses, même si l'on
note des ressemblances aux points d'arrivée". In *Préf.* à *Mircea Eliade: Traité
d'Hist. d. Relig.; op. cit.* p. 6.

lois [66]), en se refusant à conclure autrement que sur pièces, et par induction [67]), tandis que *Rousseau* plus désinvolte avec les faits, entendait ne procéder qu'en droit, c'est à dire par déduction [67]). Ce n'est pas fatalement se noyer dans les faits, comme le prétendait assez dédaigneusement Rousseau, que de les consulter et de les respecter. Quoi qu'il en soit, il n'est pas d'autre recours pour l'historien sérieux. Et si, dans l'abondance et la variété des matériaux à sa disposition, il trouve seulement de quoi bâtir une modeste demeure ou un observatoire d'attente, il aura l'assurance d'être fondé sur le roc, tandis qu'édifiée sur le sable d'une thèse préconçue, l'audacieuse construction du théoricien, après tant d'autres, s'écroulera au choc des faits, comme un château de cartes.

Il est hallucinant de suivre l'écoulement des comparatismes, dans le flot „héraclitéen" des systèmes en „isme", depuis un siècle et demi: philologisme, naturisme grand ou petit, mânisme, néo-évhémérisme, totémisme, tabouisme, fétichisme, animisme, manaïsme, sociologisme, sans compter les utilisations pragmatistes et les constructions doctrinales de certains propagandistes d'une religion particulière ou d'une Eglise.

Le vice commun à toutes ces théories qui se battent et qui se contre-battent, c'est leur dogmatisme initial. La démarche première qui les met en mouvement n'est pas l'hypothèse de travail, indispensable, mais souple et indéfiniment révisable; c'est l'idée fixe qui, consciemment, et, le plus souvent inconsciemment, pratique un montage artificiel de faits sélectionnés et parfois déformés. Quelles que soient ses convictions particulières, le chercheur qui veut être historien doit infliger à sa méthode, fût-ce provisoirement, une impartiale neutralité: il n'y a pas d'histoire „engagée".

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66) *Montesquieu: De l'esprit des lois: Préface* et *Livre I, passim.* „Elles (les lois) doivent être tellement propres au peuple pour lequel elles sont faites, que c'est un très grand hasard si celles d'une nation peuvent convenir à une autre". (chap. III).

67) Alors que *Montesquieu* examine d'abord et peut écrire *(Préface)*: „Je n'ai point tiré mes principes de mes préjugés, mais de la nature des choses", *Rousseau,* dans la *Préface* à son traité „De l'inégalité parmi les hommes" entend aussi tirer ses principes de la nature de l'homme, mais par déduction, et non „des hommes tels qu'ils sont faits".

IV. *Une méthode de libre-examen*

Il va sans dire que le libre-examen n'est pas une méthode en soi, mais une ouverture, une ouverture d'esprit à une méthode réellement scientifique. Une telle méthode ne peut même être, valablement, que de libre-examen, c'est à dire sans consignes autoritaires ni solutions pré-fabriquées. Cette démarche liminaire engage la méthode sur sa ligne maîtresse: l'observation et, si possible, l'expérimentation, le recours aux documents, aux sources, et, sur ces éléments, ces faits, le raisonnement *a posteriori*. C'est le schéma de l'induction qui s'oppose au dogmatisme, lequel procède par déduction de doctrines, de thèses et de systèmes *a priori*.

L'induction, comme chacun sait, ne va pas sans hypothèses, et c'est ici que le coefficient personnel du chercheur va jouer en faveur de celle-ci ou de celle-là. Il sera donc possible de bâtir des constructions originales, et de styles différents, sur le même fondement. Il s'agit que le devis de l'architecte ne soit pas rigide et fermé au point de ne pouvoir s'ouvrir éventuellement à la réalité de faits connus ou à connaître. Les exemples ne manquent pas d'historiens dont on ne conteste pas que la méthode de base soit, identiquement, celle des faits, et qui pourtant lui ont donné un tour personnel et quelquefoit génial. Tel est le cas de Michelet dont on comparera utilement la déclaration d'intention dans la préface de son grand œuvre sur l'histoire de France à celle de Fustel de Coulanges dans son introduction à la Cité antique. A chaque historien nouveau, s'il veut tracer sa voie, d'en faire ainsi la déclaration au seuil de son ouvrage.

Le thème de l'ouvrage est *ad libitum,* dans le cadre choisi. Dans celui de l'histoire des religions, le choix s'étend à la multitude des faits ayant affaire avec la religion. Leur aire est d'autant plus vaste qu'ils n'ont pas trouvé jusqu'ici de dénominateur commun et qu'il n'y a pas de *consensus* universel sur la nature et la définition même de la religion, non plus que sur ses origines. Un accord serait peut-être plus facile si au lieu de regarder seulement en arrière, on allait de l'avant en cherchant à quoi vise le fait considéré comme religieux. Ce qui est valable pour les *nomina,* dans une herméneutique progressive et pénétrante, pourrait l'être pour les *numina,* en y comprenant tout ce qui semble avoir un rapport avec eux, même ce qui est de seconde zone, même si l'on est amené plus tard à l'éliminer.

C'est ici que la méthode comparative, avec son usage des parallèles, peut contribuer fortement à mettre en lumière non seulement des analogies, des ressemblances et des différences, mais une orientation, une intention, une finalité. Et l'on rejoint cette *téléologie* dont on a vu que, par des voies diverses, et notamment la phénoménologie, la recherche contemporaine est justement préoccupée et inspirée.

Le processus méthodique normal est celui qui va de l'extérieur à l'intérieur, des phénomènes sensibles à leurs mobiles et motifs psychiques, en pénétrant, de proche en proche, dans une intimité croissante où l'on découvrira la religion, sinon dans son essence, du moins à un degré plus fort de concentration. Le caractère psychologique de la méthode devient, à ce point, capital, et l'on ne saurait en exagérer l'importance. Mais c'est ici, également que ressurgit le risque des interprétations trop subjectives et qu'il faut au chercheur un effort maximum de contrôle personnel. Il n'a pas à renier des croyances réfléchies et vécues, mais à éviter leur intrusion dans un domaine qui n'est pas le leur. Un certain „désengagement" est donc requis de l'historien, par rapport à ses convictions les plus chères. Il lui sera facilité si au cœur de ces convictions brûle la flamme de la vérité. S'il est croyant et pratiquant, il transposera dans sa recherche le mot de Luther à propos du risque de l'éducation: Gott walt's — Ich wag's [68]). La forme doctrinale qu'a revêtu sa foi au Dieu de Vérité peut être alors pour lui l'hypothèse de travail qu'il accepte implicitement de retoucher, de réviser là où le commanderaient la recherche et la découverte des faits. Mais ce qui vaut pour lui vaut également pour l'incroyant par rapport à son incroyance ou à toute autre idée préconçue. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne doit avoir, dans sa recherche désintéressée, un complexe de supériorité ou d'infériorité, mais la même ouverture d'esprit, la même passion de la vérité. Comme le faisait observer très justement le professeur *Jean Filiozat* dans une déclaration récente [69]) :

„Nous ne sommes plus, en effet, au XIXe siècle où certains his-

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68) Ainsi, à la formule courante: l'homme propose, Dieu dispose, *Luther* substitue, en éducation, celle ci: *Dieu dispose, je l'ose.* C'est une aventure de la foi. Cf. *Léopold Cordier: Le problème d'une pédagogie évangélique,* dans *In Unitate Robur,* p. 171, Strasbourg, 1935.

69) A la Société Ernest Renan, qu'il présidait; cf. *Bulletin* n° 14, séance du 19.12.65.

toriens des Religions se sont flattés d'objectivité en attestant qu'ils étaient personnellement inaccessibles au sentiment religieux, comme si la surdité était une condition avantageuse à un historien de la musique. L'étude des psychologies religieuses apparaît de plus en plus essentielle aujourd'hui. Mais l'exposé des motivations peut tourner à l'apologie, par les intéressés, de leur propre religion et sortir par là du domaine scientifique. L'inclination à l'apologie peut être tempérée par la confirmation des apologétiques adverses; l'exclusivisme de l'estime se corrige par la prise de conscience des valeurs étrangères".

Il se peut que de relations et de sympathies nouvelles naisse le désir d'utiliser les traits communs à forger un certain syncrétisme que l'on pourrait ensuite exploiter pour le bien de tous. On se souvient que Goblet d'Alviella envisageait cette éventualité [70]). Elle s'est manifestée nettement dans certains Congrès récents d'Histoire des Religions, notamment à Marbourg [71]), et, en dernier lieu, à Claremont [72]). Comme le notait le professeur *André Caquot,* après Claremont, „certaines des conférences, et plus encore les symposiums du soir [73]), ont révélé une tendance à confondre un Congrès d'Histoire des Religions avec un Congrès des Religions, tendance qui s'était déjà fait jour au Congrès de Marbourg [74]) ... La science des religions risque ainsi de se trouver contaminée par une idéologie et dans un pragmatisme procédant du *World's Parliament of Religion".* Il en est résulté un certain malaise ressenti par un bon nombre de délégués ... (qui ont) accueilli avec joie le discours du président de l'Association, *G. Widengren,* affirmant à la clôture du Congrès que

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70) Cf. *supra,* n. 7.

71) A l'assemblée générale du 17 Sept. 1960. Cf. *Actes,* p. 68 s., et la mise au point de *C. J. Bleeker,* p. 229 ss, reproduite avec un compte-rendu de la discussion par *Annemarie Schimmel* et une appréciation de *R. J. Werblowsky* dans *Numen,* vol. VII, Déc. 1960, p. 215-239.

72) Aux Symposiums du soir qui auraient pu constituer un Congrès en soi, mais non sous les auspices d'une Société scientifique, et sans engager sa responsabilité. C'est ce que la plupart des membres qualifiés ont ressenti.

73) Le débat, à certains moments, n'avait plus rien de scientifique, et menaçait de dégénérer fâcheusement.

74) Le *World Parliament of Religions* de Chicago, en 1893, a sans doute donné une impulsion à l'étude des religions, spécialement aux U.S.A.; mais la tentation était en même temps plus forte de confondre les genres. Cf. *J. M. Kitagawa; op. cit.,* p. 3 ss.

l'Histoire des religions devait demeurer une discipline scienti-
fique ..." [75]). C'est dans le même sens que le professeur Filiozat
complétait les remarques ci-dessus, en écartant du champ de l'histoire
des religions la recherche d'un syncrétisme ou d'une exploitation uti-
litaire extra-scientifique:

„L'Histoire scientifique des religions apparait maintenant devoir
se défendre contre l'utilisation tendancieuse, religieuse ou anti-
religieuse, de ses données, tout en faisant une part élargie aux don-
nées psychologiques et sociales vivantes, mais en exigeant, de toute
manière, l'approfondissement des connaissances des faits historiques,
rituels, sociaux et psychologiques replacés toujours dans la perspective
des cultures propres aux milieux dans lesquels ils apparaissent" [76]).

Il s'agit, en somme, d'une requête de compétence, de sincérité et
d'impartialité.

Ainsi donc: compétence, dans l'approfondissement des connais-
sances: comment satisfaire à cette requête essentielle quand les con-
naissances sont tellement nombreuses et variées, en s'accroissant à
telle allure que le chercheur en est de plus en plus submergé? Dans
ses rapports successifs sur la méthode, en tant que Secrétaire général,
aux Congrès successifs de l'Association internationale d'Histoire des
Religions, le professeur *C. J. Bleeker* a souvent mis le doigt sur cette
difficulté, en proposant comme solution un usage rationnel de la
phénoménologie [77]). Il le fit notamment à Amsterdam [78]) où le
président était un maître de cette discipline, le regretté *Van der
Leeuw* [79]). Son successeur, enlevé aussi prématurément à la science,
Raffaele Pettazzoni [80]), reprochait à une phénoménologie trop stric-
tement conçue de s'élever au dessus de l'histoire comme d'autres
systèmes, et d'en négliger l'une des composantes essentielles: le

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75) *A. Caquot: Bulletin de la Soc. E. Renan, N° 14, Séance du 27.11.65,*
p. 116 s.
76) *Bulletin, ibid.,* p. 118; cf. *supra,* n. 69.
77) Cf. *C. J. Bleeker: La structure de la Religion, R. H. P. R.,* 1951,
p. 405-416; *The future task of the History of Religions,* in *Numen,* vol. VII,
1960, p. 221-234.
78) Cf. *Proceedings ... Amsterdam 1950,* p. 85 s.
79) Cf. *In memoriam, ibid.,* p. 5 s.
80) Cf. *In memoriam,* in *Proceedings ... Tokyo - Kyoto 1958,* p. V.

développement [81]). Il ne semble pas que cette négligence soit aussi grande que le pensait Pettazzoni [82]) ; mais le danger d'ériger une méthode en système et le risque d' infliger ainsi aux faits comme un lit de Procuste est toujours à redouter, quelle que soit la discipline que le chercheur s'impose, et quel que soit le nom qu'il lui donne.

Quant à la compétence, il ne faut pas la confondre avec la spécialisation qui, par définition et d'évidence, ne saurait être universelle. Comment l'histoire des religions, en tant que tributaire d'autres sciences, comme la philologie, l'ethnologie, l'archéologie, pourrait-elle exiger de son historien un contrôle rigoureux de ces sciences? Comment, dans son propre domaine, si vaste et difficile à délimiter, imposerait-elle une vérification minutieuse de tous les faits? Un choix est inévitable, avec le risque à courir d'une appréciation subjective et d'une sélection arbitraire. Ce risque ne sera conjuré, dans une large mesure, que si la compétence du chercheur se fonde sur la pratique assidue de sa spécialité; car il faut qu'il en ait une. S'il n'en a pas, il ne sera jamais qu'un dilettante dont les aperçus, les généralisations, les vulgarisations éveilleront l'intérêt dans certains cercles, s'il a du talent, mais seront presque fatalement superficiels et sans profit pour la recherche scientifique. L'exercice assidu et prolongé de cette recherche dans un secteur quelconque du vaste champ de l'histoire des religions procure au spécialiste, dans un choix plus étendu entre les faits qu'il est amené à étudier ou à comparer, une aptitude, une perspicacité, un jugement qui lui sont refusés s'il n'a jamais rien fouillé, rien approfondi: une réelle compétence.

Cette compétence de base doit être naturellement assortie d'une sincérité allant jusqu'au scrupule dans la constatation et l'utilisation des faits. En aucun cas, le savant honnête et consciencieux ne se permettra le „coup de pouce" qui accommoderait son observation à une thèse préconçue [83]). S'il croit pouvoir honnêtement le tenter, il ne

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81) Cf. *Il Metodo comparativo, art. cit.*, p. 8 ss., *Numen* 1959, et, du même: *R. Pettazzoni: The Supreme Being*, in *The Hist. of Relig., Essays of Methodology, op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 60 ss.

82) Cf. *C. J. Bleeker: The future task of the Hist. of Relig.*, in *X. Intern. Kongress, Marburg 1960*, p. 235, et *Numen, art. cit.*, p. 228 s. La possibilité d'un développement progressif est offerte dans „*l'intention*" de *Husserl*.

83) Le procédé n'est que trop fréquent, même chez des savants de grande classe. Cf. *E. Renan: Vie de Jésus, Introd.* p. XXVII, Lausanne, 1863. Il n'est pas licite même de „solliciter doucement les textes".

manquera pas de le spécifier en en proposant les raisons qu'il a
jugées valables. Quel que soit le prix qu'il attache ou la foi qu'il
accorde à telle ou telle solution entrevue, il se gardera d'y accorder
arbitrairement un fait, car la fin ne justifie pas les moyens [84]). Cette
sincérité pascalienne [85]) suppose un dévouement total à la vérité. Cet
attachement scrupuleux devient comme une seconde nature chez le
libre-croyant ou le libre-penseur dont les étiquettes de convention se
recouvrent et n'ont plus qu'un sens dans une pratique commune et
tenace du libre-examen. Pour l'un comme pour l'autre, ce que *A. N.
Bertrand* signalait dans la tradition protestante est valable et d'une
même exigence: Dans aucun ordre de science on ne saurait admettre
que soit fixé d'avance le résultat auquel aboutiront les recherches
librement poursuivies [86]).

Il faut en revenir ici à l'évidence du risque, du risque à courir,
quelle que soit l'obédience intellectuelle ou spirituelle dont on relève.
Il ne saurait être question de s'attribuer, pour la recherche, un siège
confortable, un observatoire à l'abri d'où l'on puisse, en regardant
les autres, susurrer un „suave mari magno" [87]). La foi la plus
vivante n'hésite pas à courir le risque et suit plutôt l'impulsion

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84) Une recherche authentique de la vérité ne souffre aucune fraude, si
minime paraisse-t-elle.

85) Pascal s'évanouissait de douleur et d'indignation devant un compromis
envisagé non par les Jésuites, mais par ses amis; sa sœur Jacqueline en est
morte. Le sceptique *Sainte-Beuve* reconnaissait „que nous sommes ici devant le
beau moral dans sa plus sublime expression". Cf. *H. Clavier: Le Pascal jan-
séniste et celui de Vinet*, in *Actes du 88ème Congrès des Soc. Sav.; Sect. d'Hist.
moderne ...*, *Clermont-Ferrand 1963*, p. 24, 30, Paris, 1964.

86) *A. N. Bertrand: Protestantisme*, p. 227, Paris, 1931. Telle est, en effet,
l'exigence du *libre-examen* qui n'épargne aucune discipline, même la théologie:
„L'idée d'une science obéissant à d'autres considérations que celles qu'impliquent
ses méthodes propres, paraîtrait un non-sens. Lors même que l'étude touche au
domaine de la foi, par exemple lorsqu'elle a pour objet les documents bibliques,
on ne saurait parler de méthodes ou de conclusions „protestantes"; la critique,
l'exégèse, l'histoire progressent selon leurs méthodes propres, à quoi il ne faut
pas contrevenir. La mise en œuvre rigoureuse de ces méthodes, dans un esprit
de parfaite probité scientifique, ne comporte aucune qualification confession-
nelle. Une décision d'un corps ecclésiastique proclamant l'authenticité d'un
fragment biblique ... apparaîtrait au protestant odieuse ou ridicule. Les con-
clusions de cet ordre sont matière de science, non d'autorité ..." (Ibid., p. 227 s.).
Sur le libre-examen en théologie, cf. *Aug. Sabatier: Les religions d'autorité et
la Religion de l'Esrit*, p. 519-545, Paris, 1904; *H. Clavier: Le Christ de l'Ex-
périence, Avant-propos*, p. 3-15, Paris, 1925.

87) *Lucrèce: De natura rerum*, II, 1.

d'*Anselme de Cantorbery* dans sa belle devise : *Fides quaerens intel-
lectum* que la tentation de se fixer dans une position invariable et
inamovible telle que celle-ci : „Tranquille dans sa foi, méritoire et
raisonnable, dont les mystères dépassant son esprit sansle ie contredire,
le catholique peut étudier sans crainte les religions distinctes de celle
qu'il sait être la seule vraie" [88]). On est heureux de constater que
cette tranquille suffisance se perd de plus en plus dans une ouverture
croissante à la recherche scientifique et à ses exigences. La première
est la répudiation de tout dogmatisme. Le dogmatisme, d'où qu'il
vienne, d'extrême droite, de droite, de gauche ou d'extrême gauche,
est intolérable dans un domaine où ses excommunications n'ont point
cours. Croyants ou non-croyants, théologiens ou non-théologiens sont
logés à la même enseigne et doivent ici conjuguer leurs efforts au
lieu, comme ils l'ont fait souvent, de s'anathématiser.

Si le chercheur croyant bénéficie d'un avantage dans une intime
compréhension du fait religieux, il le perd aisément, quand il cède
à la tentation de la propagande ou de l'apologie. La tentation con-
traire menace l'incroyant, ou l'agnostique dont la neutralité serait
théoriquement mieux assurée [89]). A compétence égale, ils peuvent,
l'un et l'autre, se livrer à une étude méthodique dont l'homme reli-
gieux ordinaire est incapable [90]). L'un, par ses convictions person-
nelles, devrait être plus pénétrant, l'autre plus aisément impartial.
Mais, pratiquement, chacun a son orientation et le risque est le même
d'en transformer ce qu'elle comporte légitimement d'hypothèse de
travail en un a priori de nature dogmatique. Le risque est le même
de substituer ainsi à l'autorité intrinsèque des faits l'autorité, exté-
rieure à ces faits, d'une thèse préconçue qui peut être enracinée dans
une tradition, une doctrine ou un système pré-fabriqués. C'est contre
ce genre d'autorité qu'*Alexandre Vinet,* ce penseur à la fois critique

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88) *Léonce de Grandmaison: L'étude des religions, principes et méthodes* in
Christus, Manuel d'Hist. des Relig., par Joseph Huby, p. 43 & 44, *6ème éd.,*
Paris, 1934.

89) Cf. *H. C., supra* (n. 86), p. 3 ; *Jean Filiozat, supra,* n. 69 ; *E. O. James:
Hist. of Rel., op. cit.,* p. 231.

90) Cf. *W. C. Cantwell Smith: Comparative Relig.,* in *M. Eliade & Kita-
gawa op. cit., supra* (n. 43), p. 35, 42 ss. et la critique de *Bleeker: art. cit., Numen
1960,* p. 231 s.

littéraire, philosophe et théologien, a livré un combat exemplaire [91]);
c'est ce genre d'autorité qu'il déclarait ne pouvoir souffrir. Il prenait
ainsi rang, à la suite de Pascal, dans cette lignée de forts et fins
esprits qui se croiraient profanes et impies à l'endroit de la vérité
s'ils lui offraient une adhésion et un appui qui ne lui fussent con-
géniaux [92]).

Telles sont les exigences du libre-examen qui doit présider à la
recherche scientifique dans quelque domaine que se soit, et dans
celui de l'Histoire des Religions en particulier. Il s'agit d'un état
d'esprit, armé d'une compétence réelle, et procédant méthodiquement.
Nulle tradition, nulle tendance n'en a le monopole; mais si chacune
peut l'animer à sa manière, on admettra sans peine que la manière
de Vinet l'exalte et en favorise l'efficacité. Or, Vinet, comme cher-
cheur [93]) autant que comme croyant, vivait de cette parole qu'il
avait inscrite en épigraphe de son premier Mémoire [94]): „Le Seig-
neur, c'est l'Esprit, et là où est l'Esprit du Seigneur, là est la
Liberté!" [95]). On pourrait la compléter par celle-ci: „Vous con-
naîtrez la vérité, et la vérité vous affranchira" [96]).

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91) Cf. *H. Clavier: La Pensée relig. d'Alexandre Vinet*, p. 47 s., 93, 97, 116,
131, 143, 163 ss., 204 ss.
92) *Ibid.*, p. 116; *Le Pascal janséniste et celui de Vinet (supra*, n. 85) p. 28.
93) *Ibid.*, notamment, p. 145.
94) *Ibid.*, p. 40 s., 223.
95) *2 Corinthiens*, 3:17.
96) *Jean*, 8:32.

THE FAMILY IN ISLAM

BY

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London

Islam has become a great cultural entity apart from its more nar-
rowly defined religious connotation. As a cultural entity, there are
many Muslims who have received Western training and education and
may deny many of the leading tenets and practices of Islam and y.et
are aware of, in fact are very much alive to, their cultural heritage.
Nevertheless, it is as a religious system that most Muslims regard
Islam which, at the same time, serves as a medium of cultural expres-
sion for a wide variety of peoples. These peoples dwell in the main in
a wide belt, just north of the Equator, which extends from Morocco
to the Philippines — embracing within itself a great number of different
levels of culture, among Berbers, Egyptians, Nigerians, Sudanese, Al-
banians, Turks, Syrians, Pakistanis, Kurds, Afghans, Indonesians and
Chinese. At the centre of this wide variety, there lies the allegiance to
the Arabic tongue (XIII, 38) [1]), which gives the Arabs a paramount
importance. Local conditions affect the cultural pattern of Islam and
provide wide variations, between Persians and Mongolians, Pakistanis
and the Kabyles (among the Berbers), yet there is a constant turning
towards the heart of Islam among the Arabs. The daily fivefold prayers
are directed towards sacred Mecca and the prayers themselves, how-
ever indifferently understood, are offered in the holy Arabic tongue.
It is moreover to the sacred centre, the Ka'ba ("a resort and sanctuary
for mankind") (II, 119), that Muslims from all the various countries
come in pilgrimage from year to year, thereby forging links between
the various peoples with the hub of their culture and faith.

Certain further factors help to strengthen the bonds of allegiance
between Muslims. These are the impact of modern communications

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1) The Roman Capitals show the traditional Sura or Chapter; the second
figure is the verse. Passages translated are quoted from the translation of *The
Qur'ān* by Richard Bell, (Edinburgh, 1937) in two volumes.

and the devotion to the Koran itself. In regard to the first, there has
been a wide diffusion of literature from Cairo and Damascus which
has been spread throughout the Islamic world. This has been re-
inforced by the use of wireless stations and faster transport, which
have brought believers more closely into touch with one another. The
devotion to the Koran has helped to unify by the prestige given to the
practice of the Prophet himself and also by the close connection be-
tween religion and law in Islam. Thus, when a family or a wider group
accepts Islam, the practice of the Prophet becomes normative in a
remarkable way and the legal regulations (which govern the family)
are widely similar in all Muslim communities wherever they may be
found. In some areas, the higher status which accrues from sharing in
the Muslim community is also an important factor, as, for example,
in Northern Nigeria. As the moral demands are not unduly high and
polygamy is permitted, the Islamic faith proves more attractive than
Christianity which repudiates plural marriage. A chief can secure the
higher status more easily, whilst at the same time the break with his
older culture is not unduly severe. Therefore, whilst there are wide dif-
ferences in many aspects of the social life of Muslim peoples, there is
a certain similarity in the structure and pattern of the Muslim family.

Whilst there have been great changes due to advances in education,
the life of the Prophet still serves as a guide in family practice, especial-
ly among the less-educated and in places less exposed to currents
from urban centres. *Lives* of the Prophet are popular in many languages
but especially in Urdu, Persian and Malay, where the accounts given
may not be historical but serve as models for fashioning family life.

There is some evidence that in early Arabia, there was social organi-
zation on a matriarchal basis [2]). Assyrian and Greek texts bear witness
to the leading part that women took in Arab tribes, in so far that some
may have been chieftains. Nevertheless, it is clear that, under the
Prophet, Arabian society became patriarchally based and from him
took its structure. It is probable that the patriarchal base preceded him
as he always assumes it to be normal. In any case, this basis became
firmer under his practice and teaching. It is the father who is the head
of the household. Descent is counted through him and he has almost
unlimited authority over the household. Whilst slavery prevailed, the

2) W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship & Marriage in Early Arabia,* (C.U.P., 1903)
(pp. 83 ff.).

master of the house might have legal wives and have cohabitation with the female slaves in his household at his discretion. With the abolition of slavery, he may have legal cohabitation with former female slaves. In the matter of divorce, "properly speaking, it is not really divorce which is admitted in Islam — it is the husband's right of repudiation, which he may exercise almost as he pleases". [3]) As will be noted later, the woman now may, under certain circumstances, seek divorce but in effect, the man has the effective power of divorce. It is recognized that he is under moral obligations towards the women in his household (XXXIII, 48).

The practice of the Prophet as well as his teaching has been the basis of all Islamic teaching in regard to the family. There is attributed to the Prophet, in the earliest stratum of tradition in Islam, the saying, "There is no *rāhbaniyya* in Islam". The *rāhib* was the Christian ascetic, who dwelt (like St Anthony) in the desert as a solitary, known as a familiar sight to the Arabs in the course of their caravan journies. Mohammed regarded family life as the norm for the Muslim community as may be seen from a number of sayings, both canonical and uncanonical, such as: "Marriage is my custom; he who dislikes it does not belong to me" and "when a servant of Allah marries he thereby perfects half his religion". [4]) This is endorsed by the fact that there is no verse in the Koran which discourages marriage. When, further, the Companions of the Prophet disputed among themselves about the best man, the reply of the Prophet was: "The best of men is he who is a good husband". In this matter, the Prophet had the strong traditions of the Semitic peoples behind him. The patriarchs had large families and the prophets were married. Moreover, among the Arabs, the care of the flocks and herds, together with other tribal needs, required the raising of sons, who would act as warriors to defend the family rights. In regard to his own practice, he had, according to some traditions, nine wives and, according to others, fourteen wives. He regarded all these as legitimate and it has to be borne in mind that some of these wives were the survivors of his earlier Companions, who had died in the cause of Islam. Until a late period in his career, Khadīdja was his only wife and a revelation was given to him to justify the various

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3) *Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics,* Vol. 5., p. 742.
4) Cf. *The Family: Its Function & Destiny* (Ed. R. N. Anshen), New York, 1949, especially Chap. 3 ("The Family in Islam"). Re: above, p. 42.

other marriages (XXXIII, 49-50). These included "the daughter of
thy uncles or thy aunts either on the father's or the mother's side,
who have emigrated with thee, and any believing woman, if she offer
herself to the prophet, and the prophet wish to take her in marriage;
(this is) special for thee and does not apply to the believers". At the
time of this revelation, he had nine wives, apart from slave girls. He
had no son (XXXIII, 40) but his daughter's heirs became the leader
of the Muslim community.

Whilst his practice has had an important place, yet it is his teaching,
as divine revelations in the Koran or as recorded later in the Traditions
(*ḥadīth*), which has become normative as the basis of Muslim teaching
on the family. There is no carefully thought-out teaching on this sub-
ject but rather suggested solutions to practical problems, which were
brought to him by members of the community. Like many a tribal
chief, he was accessible to the members of the tribe, which in this case
was the new community which he had created on a religious basis and
which cut across the old tribal boundaries. As new circumstances arose,
in later times, so his teaching has had to be modified and adapted by new
regulations, which became embodied in the legal system of Islam as
defined by the four schools of law. This legal system has become
regulative and normative for the Muslim communities in different
countries across the world.

This system may be seen in various aspects in regard to the family.
Firstly, there are the aspects of family practice, as seen in the place
of betrothal, the marriage ceremony itself and then the divorce which
may take place in some cases. Secondly, there are the various aspects
of the relationships between the sexes. This includes the Prophet's
own views on women; a woman's legal rights; harem life; polygamy;
slavery and *mutᶜa* marriage. Thirdly, there are the matters relating to
children. These include the Prophet's own care for children; the
mother's responsibilities; the religious training of children; children's
attitude to their parents and to kith and kin; adoption and foster
relationship and finally, the attainment of majority and inheritance.

1. *Family practice*

   (a) B e t r o t h a l

It is probable that previous to the time of the Prophet, raiding par-
ties from one Bedouin tribe would descend upon some other tribe and

capture women and girls, who would be shared out by the captors as "marriage by capture". However, when practice had to become rationalized and routinised, it became normal for families to seek eligible partners for their sons or daughters, when puberty was reached. In some cases, the children might be "bespoken" from an earlier age or even before birth, where families had a close connection with one another. It has been the duty of the parents or guardians to seek the eligible partner for their child rather than any preference on the part of the young person concerned. There is some measure of 'preferential marriage', in that a first cousin on the father's side had a right for first consideration. This had a definite advantage in that it kept the children within the protection of the same tribe. In fact, it has become a regular practice for a man's first wife to be normally his father's brother's daughter (*bint²amm*). [5] The Hanifite school of law has, in fact, ruled that a man may have this female cousin, with her father's consent, but without asking for her consent. It is recognized that the girl has some choice.

Suitability is an important matter where tribal honour is concerned. This involved that the partners should have equality in matters of birth, religion, occupation and degree of freedom. Status and station are important but age is less so. There are many cases of small girls being betrothed to ageing men. A²isha, Mohammed's favourite wife, was betrothed to him when she was six and went to live with him when she was nine.

In modern times, it is normal for the boy's parents to initiate the negotiations for betrothal, though "managing mothers" (concerned about their daughters) are also known to put out feelers in the right direction. When the boy wishes to take a wife or his parents desire it, then the women of the household begin to make enquiries about a suitable match, unless some previous bespoken arrangements have been made. There is no legal specification as to the age when betrothal may take place. When a suitable girl has been found, then a group of women will visit the girl's mother to discuss the matter and arrange that the girl's father be approached for consent. When this consent has been given, then a day is agreed, when the boy or his guardian will go to the girl's home, accompanied by some friends and one of the religious

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5) *The Family*, ibid., 46.

leaders, to request formally the girl in marriage. A long discussion
then takes place over the dowry, which is closely connected with the
security of her marriage. A man will hesitate to divorce a bride to
whom a heavy dowry has been paid. When the dowry is agreed, then
the religious leader pronounces suitable prayers and the necessary
legal permission is sought from the local Qādī. When this has been
obtained, then the pair are considered to be legally betrothed.

It is not considered fitting for any well-bred girl to object to a match
to which her parents have agreed, even though she may be kept in
ignorance until the negotiations are completed. She may not have seen
her prospective bridegroom, although, in many cases, she may have
known him and played with him since they were both children. There
are certain bars to betrothal, in particular, too close degrees of blood
relationship (including foster relationship where children have been
suckled from the same breast) and religious restrictions. The Koran
forbids marriage with an unbeliever (II, 220), although it is permis-
sible to marry "the free women from among those who were given the
Scriptures before you" (V, 7) [6]), namely, women from Jewish and
Christian communities who are People of the Book. It is generally
recognized that a Muslim father will not permit his daughter to marry
an idolater. Slavery was no bar to marriage, in fact, "a believing slave
is better than an idolater, even though ye admire him" (II, 120). It
was considered the proper treatment by a master to permit his female
slave to marry, if he did not wish her for himself. If he did wish to
have her, she was very often freed.

(b) The Marriage

The marriage ceremony itself may take place soon after the betroth-
al or at a longer period, as desired. Whilst the ceremony is a public
occasion, it is more of a civil contract than a religious act. Whilst there
is no legal age limit when children may be married (in the Koran),
yet it is recognized by custom that a girl needs to be physically quali-
fied, which has been deemed to be about the age of twelve. For the
boy, it is considered right for him to marry with the onset of puberty.
The marriage day itself is fixed by mutual agreement though there

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6) *The Koran*, (trans. by N. J. Dawood), Penguin Books, London 1966. Trans-

are considerable pressures from local custom in regard to propitious and unpropitious times. In particular, the eve of Friday is regarded by custom as a most propitious time for the wedding ceremony. Ceremonial customs to prepare the bride — in her perfuming, bathing, dressing and in her procession — differ from community to community. Similarly, there are traditional customs in regard to the staining of her palms and the soles of her feet with henna and the darkening of her eyes, to beautify her.

The arrangements for the wedding day greatly depend on the wealth of the parties concerned. It is sometimes customary for the bridegroom to have his own procession (*zaffa*), which may be elaborate as he is accompanied by his companions, bearing torches, and preceded by musicians, whilst servants follow to throw coins and sweetmeats to the crowd. This procession normally visits the local mosque.

The central act of the ceremony is the signing of the marriage contract, in the presence of witnesses, by the representative of the bridegroom and the guardian of the bride (her *wali*). It is the responsibility of her *wali* to safeguard her interests, according to her rights and dignities; to ensure that the contract is in order and then to hand over the bride to her bridegroom. If there is no *wali*, the local *qādī* may act as such, since in most Muslim countries (in modern times) the authorities are involved. Where possible, the signing itself takes place in the presence of the local Imām, who pronounces a prayer (with their hands joined) and recites with those present the opening Sura of the Koran (the *Fātiha*). The bride may or may not be present but may witness it behind the screen of the women's quarters.

There follows the wedding feast (*walīma*), which is traditionally in the bride's home. It is customary to invite rich and poor and it is considered unpropitious to refuse an invitation to such a feast, which may go on for several days, according to the wealth of the parties. It may be some days later before the bride (known as "the conducted one") is officially conducted to her new home. Whether she goes in a decorated chair, in a litter borne by an animal or, in modern times, in a motor-car, the procession must move slowly, followed by those who bear her trousseau and household effects. She will be heavily veiled. At her new home, female members will conduct her to the bridal chamber, where she is unveiled and meets her husband for their first night.

(c) D i v o r c e

A marked characteristic of Muslim society has been the facility
with which the marriage tie may be severed. Whilst this facility may
have been part of earlier Arab practice, it has been endorsed in the
Koran, which gives the man complete freedom of divorce. It is not
essentially necessary for him to provide justification for such action.
Moreover, whilst a man has this freedom, there is no such facility for
the wife to act against her husband. This is readily understood in that
he is free to take several wives. Yet attempts have been made by the
Law Schools to discuss the rights which belong to the wife. Thus, as
Mohammed regarded marriage as a kind of contractual agreement,
then if the husband fails to pay in full the agreed dowry, (or again if
he is unable to maintain her adequately according to contract), the
wife may appeal to the *Qādī* to annul the marriage, on the ground of
non-fulfilment of contract. Similarly, if the husband has peculiar phy-
sical imperfections, then the wife may offer to return the dowry to
gain her freedom.

The normal form of divorce is the *Talāq*, or repudiation — in which
the husband abandons all rights and obligations in her. The formula
of repudiation must be repeated three times in quick succession, although
the Prophet's intention appears to have been to make the three times
at intervals sufficient for the man to think over or think better of his
decision. After either of the first two times, he may continue to live
with her without further ceremony, but after the third renunciation,
the divorce is irrevocable, so that he cannot resume married life with
her until she has been legally married to, lived with and been divorced
by another man.

Various steps were necessary to deal with this sitation, as may be
seen from Sura II, 228 and from Sura LXV (entitled "Divorce").
In Sura II it is laid down that a divorced woman must wait a specified
period before she may marry again. This is laid down as a period of
three menstrual courses or three months, either from the death of the
husband or from the time of the repudiation (II, 226, 228). The pur-
pose of this waiting period, which is known as the *ᵓidda*, is to insure
that the woman is not pregnant by the man who is pre-deceasing or
divorcing her. This also raised the issue concerning maintenance
(cf. II. 242) and the care of the child (LXV, 6). During the period

of the confinement, the husband must maintain the wife, "and if, they then suckle (the child) for you, give them their hires, and consult together reputably" (LXV, 6). After the divorce, the woman comes again into the care of her guardian *(walī)* but the children remain with the father. Their care and maintenance devolves exclusively upon him.

There is little doubt that this issue of divorce has been a matter of deep concern in Muslim society. Tradition has upheld the hatefulness of divorce in the eyes of Allah and has strengthened the hands of those who have sought to act as intermediaries (IV, 39). This problem of repudiation has been prominent in feminist movements, which have sought to improve the position of Muslim women before the law. Thus, in Egypt, the Ministry of Justice has promulgated from time to time draft proposals which require a man to go to the Registrar and make a statement and collect a certificate, by which time it is hoped that he will change his mind. A man must also not be more than twice his intended wife's age [7]). Progress has been slow in Syria and North Africe but faster in Turkey. Much discussion on this matter has taken place in Muslim India.

2. *Relationships between the sexes*
(a) The Prophet's attitude to women

There is little doubt that the Prophet's own regard for women does not appear to have been a high one. He recounted to his followers that on the occasion of his famous night journey, he had been allowed to look into hell and noted that most of its inhabitants were women. The Koran itself gives various warnings — that a woman's guile sought to deceive Joseph (XII, 28); that women found guilty of adultery should be shut in their houses (which meant in early Islam, to be literally immured) (IV, 19); whether bond or free, due dowry was to be given to a woman, "provided that they are honourable, and chaste and have not entertained other men" (IV, 29). [8]) A similar warning against women's naughtiness is seen in LXV, I. On the other hand, Mohammed's marriage with Khadīdja was a happy one. Traditions vary in that Abu Saiid al-Khudri recorded that he heard the Prophet say: —

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7) Cf. Draft proposals on a "Marriage Bill of Rights", promulgated in Cairo, Jan. 13th, 1961. (*Daily Telegraph* report, Jan. 14th., 1961).
8) *The Koran,* trans. Dawood.

"Take heed how you behave, abstaining from worldliness and from women, for verily the first rebellion of the Children of Israel was on account of women" 9), whilst elsewhere it is recorded that the Prophet said: "Of all worldly affairs, I like best women and perfumes" (Aḥmed b. Ḥanbal, III, 128 bis, 285).

It is not therefore a matter for surprise that the Prophet makes clear that men are superior to women. "The men are overseers over the women by reason of what Allah hath bestowed in bounty upon one more than another and of the property which they have contributed; upright women are therefore submissive" (IV, 38). Similarly, "in reputable dealing they (women) have the same right as is exercised over them, though the men have a rank above them" (II, 228). Two women are needed as equal to one man as witnesses (II, 282). "All six books of the canonical Traditions contain statements of the Prophet enumerating the natural, moral and religious defects of women and it is noteworthy that the Traditions which tell of the future coming of the Antichrist, ad-Dajjal the Deceiver, who shall appear in the Last Days, agree that it is especially women who will be his ardent followers". 10)

On the other hand, it is recognized that women are a delight (III, 12). "Your women are to you (as) cultivated land; go, then, into your cultivated land as ye wish" (II, 223). Men should treat women with kindness, since "if ye dislike them, it is possible that ye may dislike a thing in which Allah hath set much good" (IV, 23). As in the warnings of the Gospels, the Prophets warns his followers against earthly ties (including their wives) which might turn them aside from following Allah (IX, 24) (Wives and children may even prove to be an enemy of a believer; LXIV, 14) Yet, whilst wives, together with houses and horses, may be a danger for men, yet virtuous women are the most valuable of a man's possessions.

(b) A w o m a n ' s l e g a l r i g h t s

It must not be inferred that a woman in Islam lacks legal rights. Her dowry is hers absolutely and she retains full right to her possessions as the husband does in regard to his own. It is forbidden for an ex-husband to place duress on a former wife in regard to gifts which

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9) *The Family,* ibid., p. 45.
10) *Iibid.,* p. 45.

he has given to her (IV, 23). When a man dies, his wives shall in-
herit one quarter of his estate if he dies childless (IV, 14). If she dies
childless then her husband inherits a half of his wife's estate (IV, 13).
It is recognized that it is illegal for a man to divorce his wife on false
pretences so that he may secure her possessions. For the rest, a man's
control over the woman is practically absolute.

(c) Harem life

One of the most marked characteristic features of Muslim life has
been the use of veiling and of seclusion, which found expression in the
harem life of women. It is not altogether clear whether the practice of
the seclusion was widely prevalent in the more civilized cities at the
time of the Prophet. It does, however, appear to have been prominent,
previous to Islam, in Persia and in the eastern portion of the Byzan-
tine Empire. In the case of Islam, it has been claimed that veiling, in
particular, arose out of the necessity to protect the women folk of the
Prophet and his followers from molestation before the Prophet had
really come to power. But it is also clear that the motive of sexual
jealousy plays a large part in the seclusion which prevents a Muslim
woman from receiving male visitors or going out unveiled or, on the
other hand, a Muslim man from seeing any woman save his own
wives and female servants. This has been endorsed by the Sura
XXXIII, 59, which instructs the wives of the Prophet, your daughters
and the wives of true believers "to let down some (part) of their
mantles over them". There can also hardly be any doubt that the prin-
ciple of the superiority of the male over the female played a large part
in developing this system whereby the women live such separated lives
of seclusion.

It should be recognized, however, that there are wide differences in
different Muslim lands. The practice of veiling and of seclusion has
been more strictly observed among the upper classes in the cities than
in the country districts, among hill tribes and among the poorer classes.
Whilst the jurists uphold the seclusion of women, the pressures to give
more education to women make for a wider freedom, both in the Near
East and elsewhere. In Turkey, veiling has already been abolished and
attempts to do the same in Persia and Afghanistan have been intensi-
fied. In Egypt and in India, there have been determined movements
to secure greater freedom for women. This has taken the form, among

the better-educated, of keeping young women longer in school or college. This has resulted in later marriage, with a greater desire to dispense with the veil, which in most Arab countries has gradually been on the wane. However, in more conservative Damascus and in Arabia, there has been steadfast opposition, in some quarters, in defence of the older Muslim attitude. In regard to women's education, reference should be made to the advance made by Egypt in this field, whilst elsewhere (as in Syria) there is a greater openness to new thought, about the place of women in society.

(d) Polygamy

As a universal rule, it is important to bear in mind that monogamy is the commonly accepted practice in all cultures [11]) and therefore in some measure, polygamy is an abnormal phenomenon. In his *History of Human Marriage,* Westermarck claimed that "monogamy, by conviction or necessity, is the rule among most Moslem peoples". [12]). For example, he maintained that this is the case among more than 95 per cent of Muslims in India. Among the rural population in most Arab countries, it is probably as high as ninety-nine per cent. Westermarck further claimed that polygamy was confined to a few men only, even in Africa, which is the chief centre of polygynous habits. He held that the same is true in regard to Persia as in the case of Muslim India. This is easily understandable. If a wife is dutiful and provides sons and daughters whilst caring well for her family, there is less cause to seek further wives, unless other factors (prestige, wealth or enforced leisure) enter in.

Whilst monogamy may be the practice for most families, particularly of the middle and working classes, yet marriage with more than one wife is made easier by two factors, namely, the ease by which a man secures divorce and the permission to have more than one wife. From the woman's standpoint, her subordinate position and her inability to support herself make separation more difficult than for the man. Therefore, she is the more willing to share the home with other wives. This is accentuated by the fact that separation from the husband means separation from her children, since it is "the fundamental doctrine of Mohammedan law — the son is reckoned to the bed on which

11) B. Malinowski, "Marriage", (*Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, XIV, (1962), 950.
12) E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage,* (London, 1891), p. 439.

he is born" [13]), i.e. to the father and his kin. Therefore, in the case
of childlessness or a succession of daughters or incompatibility, there
is a powerful urge to take a further wife or wives. According to the
Koran, a Muslim is permitted to take no more than four free women
at any one time as wives (IV, 3) but there is no limitation on the
number of slave-girls who may be taken besides. It is recognized, how-
ever, that a woman has a right to her own establishment and therefore,
in the same verse, there is an injunction to ensure equality of treat-
ment — "but if ye fear that ye may not be fair, then one (only) or
what your right hands possess (i.e. slaves); that is more likely to
secure that ye be not partial".

This last injunction has given rise to considerable discussion. Some
have claimed that the Prophet's advocacy of polygamy was a tem-
porary expedient to face the particular circumstances of his time, as,
for instance, his marriages with widows of his Companions to provide
for them. It is also now maintained, especially in the light of the
Christian insistence on monogamy, that as just treatment can only be
given to one wife, therefore the Prophet's real intention was to provide
monogamy as the family ideal. There are several pointers in the
direction of polygamy, however, apart from the Koranic permission,
such as the highly coloured descriptions of the great number of wives
of the Blessed in Paradise and the endorsement in the Traditions of
the practice of a plurality of wives, although with warnings of punish-
ment on those who do not treat their wives with impartiality. There is
no doubt that such shared homes create problems of their own kind, so
that the Prophet has to warn the wives of a man not to use tricks to
provoke the husband to jealousy. On the other hand, the Koranic
Sura IV ("Women") counsels the husband "as for those from whom
you fear disobedience, admonish them and send them to beds apart
and beat them" (verse 38). [14])

Whilst the rule of four wives is recognized in relation to free women,
there has been considerable latitude in regard to the sexual freedom
which a man could have with slave women, who are permitted to the
man to enable him to show due justice to his free wife or wives (IV, 3)
or if he could not afford a free wife (IV, 30). The latter verse com-
mends the man who abstains rather than take a concubine. Concubines

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13) W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship* etc., p. 107 f.
14) *The Koran*, trans. Dawood.

were to be taken with due regard and responsibility ("give them their hire (but) reputably", IV. 29) [15]), although the Law books did not permit a man to take a married woman as a concubine nor two together who are sisters. Presumably both such cases would involve unsettling emotional relationships with other parties. Yet, even in the case of slaves, care must be taken to marry a believer (II, 220), i.e. a Muslim or possibly a woman from the People of the Book. Children born by these slave women had the same status as those born by the free legal wives.

(e) Slavery

It is apparent, from the preceding section, that slavery is both recognized and accepted, without question, by the Koran. The Prophet himself had slaves and it was part of the life of his age in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. It had presumably long been the practice in Arabia, so that it was altogether natural for him to consider its continuance as necessary and as an essential part of the social structure. The slave was the absolute possession of his master just as any other part of the master's property. He could suffer great indignities at the hands of his master's or, on the other hand, he could receive great kindness. There has been, in fact, one strain in Muslim tradition which has encouraged kindness in the treatment of slaves. Abu Hureira relates that he heard the Prophet say, "A slave has a right to his food and his clothes and he must not be distressed with work other than that which he is able to perform". [16]) Moreover, it has been regarded as an act of piety to set slaves free, whilst, if a slave by his own labours could redeem himself, his master must not prevent him. The stories in Eastern tales of Islamic life, such as the *Arabian Nights,* give some indication that in some cases slaves were well treated though their influence on the life of the family must often have been pernicious. In particular, the upper class of the slave hierarchy who often acted as eunuchs to guard the master's harem became very influential, in Imperial Islam. Slavery has now been widely abolished in most Muslim countries although there are no doubt some quarters where remnants of the older system remain.

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15) Cf. Dawood trans. "give them their dowry in all justice".
16) *The Family,* ibid., p. 71.

(f) Mut²a marriage

Another form of permitted marriage, which is likely to disappear, is *mut²a* marriage. The long and laborious camel journeys by the camel-owners caused these owners to spend long periods of time away from their homes. Their stopping-places were often regular, in the cities or in oases, where they sold their goods. Therefore, from pre-Islamic days, there was practiced the marriage of 'enjoyment' (*mut²a*), where-by a man paid for a purely temporary period of pleasure with a woman. She did not come under his authority, as in the case of a more regular form of marriage, nor did she have any change in status but simply served as a temporary wife for the period that a man was away from home. The woman's family was not brought into the contract but it was simply a business transaction for a stated period. The Koranic permission lay in Sura IV. 28., wherein it was laid down that women might be sought by means of a man's wealth and should receive reward for the enjoyment given. At the end of the agreed period, both parties were free without further formality.

It is possible that this form of marriage arose out of an earlier matriarchal organization and was carried over into a later period. Its persistance has not been without opposition. The Caliph ²Umar endeav-oured to ban this form of marriage, so that to this day Sunni regard such marriage as illegal. Yet it is recognized as legal and is practised by some Shi²a Muslims, though not all, as the Zaydis of the Yemen do not allow it. Children born of such a marriage are legally recog-nized and have the normal right of inheritance from the father. The woman has no right of inheritance nor any claim to maintenance beyond the terms stated in the original agreement. As changes in com-munication take place *mut²a* marriage will no doubt continue to decline.

3. *The Care and Training of Children*

The legal recognition forms an important part of family security. The earlier tribal practice among Bedouin peoples may well have been that paternity was alone important in so far as some actual member of the tribe was the father. As "the child belongs to the bed", so the child is legitimized within wedlock, whoever the actual father may be. The terms "within wedlock" have been the subject of much legal contro-versy, but it is recognized that it means within six months of cohabita-tion as the minimum and four years after cohabitation as the maximum.

Moreover, if a child is born within the period of six months, the
father is still free to recognize the child as legitimate. Also, as slave-
children, by the master or another man, share in certain rights as
members of the family, so it is seldom that any child has any stigma
from illegitimacy in an Islamic household.

(a) The Prophet's care for children

   Prominence has been given to the exhortations of the Prophet,
which relate to the care of children. In pre-Islamic times, there appears
to have been the custom of burying alive unwanted girls for fear of
want. This is forbidden by the Prophet: "Do not kill your children for
fear of want; We provide for them and for you; the killing of them
is a great sin" (XVII, 33). Again, in the care of orphans, he exhorts
guardians: "Touch not the property of the orphan, except in a way
that will improve it, until he attain full age" (XVII, 36). This care
for children has been further re-inforced by stories, contained in the
ḥadīth (traditions), regarding the mothers who brought their children
to the Prophet for him to bless. He believed that a parent's love for
his children would bring bliss here and also in Paradise. He desired
that his Community should be renowned for the care of children and
the aged.

(b) The mother's responsibilities

During the early years of a child's life, the mother has care of him,
in so far that the Koran enjoins the mother to suckle her child for a
period of two years ("his weaning was in two years", XXXI, 13).
However, it is accepted by jurists that this period may be shortened (as
no doubt the facts of nature required!), if the parents agree. A woman
could have two or even three children, at the breast, at the same time,
under certain circumstances, during a two year period. Since the child
belonged to the father, some discussion arose in regard to the position
of a divorced mother's responsibility in regard to her child's care. In
the light of the ease and frequency of divorce, this matter has been of
great importance, especially as foster-mothers could not easily be found
for very small infants. The divorced woman may leave her child to
the father's sole responsibility but most claim that this divorced
mother should suckle her own child. But, if she does so, then, as in the
case of any wet nurse, she should be adequately paid and reasonably

treated (LXV, 6). The mother is considered to be responsible for the physical, mental and spiritual care of the boy until after his second birthday, when it is the father's duty to undertake his training. In the case of a girl, she remains under her mother's care until the age of seven, when she then comes under her father's more particular responsibility. If the father dies, then the mother has custody, though the father's kin would no doubt fulfil their responsibility towards her. It is the father whose duty it is to attend to his son's marriage at puberty and his daughter's marriage at twelve years of age.

(c) The religious training of the children

Whilst certain duties fall to the mother or the father in accord with the age of the child, it is the duty of both parents to endeavour to train the child from earliest days as a believer in Allah. The call to prayer (*adhān*) is recited into the ear of each new-born child, as, in the Prophet's view, each new child is born into the true faith but is later changed or converted, by its parents, into Jew or a Christian or a non-believer. Some discussion took place among jurist-theologians in regard to the fate of children who died before they attained an age to choose a way of faith. The Prophet believed that Satan was especially hopeful of each new child as his prey, that Satan poked the child to provoke the first cry and that only careful early training would save a child from Satan's clutches.

On the seventh day, the child is named by his father and has his head shaved. There is then also the ʾaqiqa ceremony, which is an ancient ceremony of ransom in which the life blood of the animal is poured out in compensation for the life of the child. It is customary for one sheep to be killed in the case of a girl and two for a boy. There are many and varied customs in different parts of the Muslim world relating to the physical and religious well-being of the child. Circumcision is customary throughout the Islamic world, although it is not mentioned in the Koran. Its place as a religious act appears to be of comparatively late date, even among the Jews. Whether it arose as an act of hygiene, of physical attraction or from ancestral custom (which developed into religious significance), it is not easy to decide. Among tribal peoples, ceremonies include driving away devils and jinns liable to molest the child's growth.

As with many such ceremonies, circumcision is generally the occa-

sion for a celebration. It is practised on children of both sexes, though less frequently in the case of girls. No particular religious ceremony appears to be connected with the rite in many places, though it is among the acts sometimes required from a convert when he enters Islam from another religious community which did not require it.

Various religious duties related to the life of the family receive endorsement in Sura XXIV, 55-60. These include the duties of alms-giving, attendance on the times of prayer, obedience to the Prophet, and filial piety (both prior to puberty and after it), especially in the special periods of prayer, i.e. before the morning prayer, in the heat of noon and after the evening prayer. There is also the care of the needy ("It shall be no offence for the blind, the lame and the sick, to eat at your tables", XXIV, 60) [17]) and for hospitality within the circle of the kin. Such duties need to be part of the training of the children until they reach their majority, which in the case of a boy is considered to be the age of fifteen, which is also accepted for a girl. In the case of a girl she is deemed to be marriageable as soon as she has shown signs of physical puberty. In the more educated families, there is a tendency in modern times to postpone the age of majority to eighteen years. There is still much flexibility among different authorities, so that some place the minimum age at nine years, whilst under Turkish law the minimum age is fixed at twelve years. Amid such a diversity of peoples as Islam represents, in many stages of culture, it is to be expected that local custom and practice play a large part in deciding when the younger members of the family can begin to undertake adult responsibilities.

(d) Children's attitude to their parents
    and their kin

Filial piety plays an important part in Muslim family relationships. In fact, it is closely linked with true worship. "Thy Lord hath decreed that ye shall not serve any but Him. And with parents (exercise) kindness, whether one or both of them attain old age with thee" (XVII, 24). They should not be treated with impatience or reproof but "bear thyself humbly towards them out of compassion, and say: "My Lord, have mercy upon them as they brought me up when young"

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17) *The Koran,* trans. Dawood.

(XIV, 25). Similar admonitions are expressed in Suras XXXI, 13 and XLIV, 14, whilst in Sura XXIX, 7, the same exhortation is given but with the proviso that parents must not be obeyed if they advise their children to serve other gods.

It is considered to be a capital sin to curse one's parents and great is the reward in Paradise for those who show goodness and respect to their parents, to whom they owe life itself as the gift of Allah. Filial piety may also be shown by redeeming parents who have fallen into slavery. In the popular stories on the glories of Paradise, it is often held that the happiness of parents there is affected by the filial piety of their children in this life.

Whilst there is emphasized the bonds between believers, which may transcend family loyalties, yet the Traditions give prominence to the joys that accompany loyalty between brothers and sisters in this world and the next. These kinship ties are naturally strongest among tribal peoples, where kinship organization plays so large a part in every sphere of life — whether in North Africa (among Berber tribes), among the tribes in the sheikdoms of Arabia as well as in North-East Asia among the Mongolian peoples.

It is recognized that the true believer should "give to the kinsman his right" (XVII, 28), which includes the care of one's relations according to their need. In testamentary dispositions, one's kinsmen had the first claim in gifts and legacies, whilst piety and hospitality towards paternal and maternal aunts and uncles have already been mentioned. The fact that cousin-marriage is a form of preferential marriage indicates that links between families were encouraged, whilst even in the sale of slaves it is considered undesirable to sell apart those who are of close kin. It is better that brothers or a brother and a sister should be sold together. The sharing of bequests among relatives is endorsed in the Koran (IV, 8, 9 and 15).

(e) Adoption and foster relationship

In the life of the family, various steps have to be taken to deal with special circumstances, such as the death of one or more parents; the death of an heir or the lack of a suitable heir and the provision of foster parents. When a child is left as an orphan, he has to be placed under a guardian until he (or she) reaches his majority, when he is able to receive the property due and so far as he is considered capable

of administering it. In Sura IV, the guardian is given careful advice on the care of an orphan's estate. "Bestow upon the orphans their property; do not substitute the bad for the good, and do not consume their property in addition to your own — verily it has become a great crime... Do not give to those of weak intellect the property which Allah has appointed you to manage but feed them and clothe them and speak to them in reputable fashion ... Do not consume it (their property) in extravagance or anticipation of their growing up; let him who is rich restrain himself and let him who is poor use it reputably" (verses 2, 4-6). Such admonitions may well reflect the experience which the Prophet himself had to face when he was left an orphan. In the same Sura, dire threats are made that those who devour the property of orphans unjustly "shall burn in the flames of hell". Orphans are to treated with kindness and justice. It is probable that, in pre-Islamic Arabia, orphans were often subjected to ill-treatment and their possessions were misappropriated. Therefore, from his own perhaps bitter experience and for the well-being of his community, the Prophet exhorted them thus in Allah's name.

The lack of a suitable heir (or some other difficult domestic circumstance) made adoption a common practice in tribal life both in pre-Islamic Arabia and later. Mohammed himself adopted the slave Zayd ben Ḥāritha. It was the normal tribal practice for such an adopted child to have the full rights of that tribe, including inheritancce booty and a full share in its councils. In Islam, however, whilst any free adult Muslim may adopt a child (or for any Muslim woman who desires to adopt to do so, with her husband's consent), yet it is not considered that the adopted child should be regarded in the same way as a full child of the family blood. The adopted sons are not as your own sons (XXXIII, 4), so that they do not have an accepted right to inherit, though they may do so. It is also a matter of discussion among jurists whether and to what extent the adopted child is to be called upon to undertake responsibilities relating to adoptive parents in the same way as blood children are expected to do. In any case, adopted children are to be treated with justice and regarded as brothers in the faith, yet "Allah ordains that blood relations are closer to one another than other believers" (XXXIII, 6). [18]

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18) *The Koran,* trans. Dawood.

Related to this aspect of family life is the practice of foster relationship. It is narrated in the stories relating to early Arabic history that well-to-do families used to send their young children to the Bedouin mothers in the desert where the children could thrive on the pure air beyond the stench of cities and also could hear, at a tender age, the pure speech of their land. It is narrated that the child Mohammed himself was sent to be suckled by a woman of the Banu Saʾd. Children who are thus brought up together, especially those suckled at the same breast, are deemed to be very close in relationship and therefore marriage between them is forbidden. The husband of the foster mother is regarded as an uncle. In a household of several wives, including also slave mothers, it is probable that in many cases the wet-nurse was able to be provided from within the household itself. In any case, the family itself was a large enough unit to be able to meet most of its needs from within its own resources.

(f) The attainment of majority and inheritance

Some reference has been made to these matters already. A child remains under the tutelage of his guardian (his *walī*) until he reaches his majority, which (as mentioned above) is deemed to be at the age of fifteen. The guardian is normally the father but it may be some other legally appointed male relative (e.g. the grandfather or father's brother). The position of guardian is considered to be one of importance in the family and is similar in some respects to the power exercised by the head of a clan over the disposal of the possessions of the clan. The age of majority is the one in which the young person is deemed to be in a position to take adult responsibility and in some cases, punishment. Thus, it is only after the age of fifteen that a boy could join in raiding expeditions and have his share in the booty but, by the same token, a lad could have his hand cut off for theft as a punishment as an adult. During the period which preceded his majority, the young man's guardian (normally his parents) had the responsibility for his general training (a form of guardianship known as *ḥaḍana* ("physical care"), especially by the mother. Then came the form of guardianship (known as *wilāyat an-nikāh*) for the marriage of members of the family when they reached an appropriate age. The third form of guardianship (*wilāyat al-māl*) covered the responsibility for the over-

sight of the property of minors. These three forms were differentiated
in the Law Books. The first form (*wilāyat ḥaḍana*), until a child was
beyond the period of *mumayyiz* (i.e. without discretion, until about the
seventh year), gave the guardian full authority to enforce his will
whether it was the father, uncle or some other appointed *wali*. Never-
theless, as has already been mentioned, the guardian was only permitted
to use, for his own use, a part of the minor's possessions (IV, 6) and
he was under obligation to protect and improve his ward's property.
"Do not interfere with the property of the orphan, except to improve
it, until he attain his full age" (IV, 153), which is similar to XVII, 36
(cf. p. 16 above), which closes with the words — "keep your promises;
you are accountable for all that you promise". [19]) Such safeguards
were necessary, as the guardian's power to marry off daughters, to
arrange for the marriage of sons, to disinherit disobedient members of
the family and to give away family property could amount to a prac-
tically absolute authority, save that family or local custom could place
on him a restraining hand in such matters.

When a young person reached a marriageable age or his majority,
then it was permitted to hand over to him any property which might
belong to him, with the proviso that the young person concerned was
deemed to have reached an age of sound judgment in its use (IV, 5).
In Sura IV, verses 8 to 15 and the final verse (175), there are set
forth various decisions relating to inheritance, which the Prophet gave
to problems as they arose in his family circle, among his followers and
beyond. These decisions have been further elaborated by the Law
Schools in the course of time, with suggestions which have been handed
down in the Tradition (*Ḥadīth*) — to form a detailed scheme to decide
those who are permitted to share in an inheritance. This includes the
various fractional shares which are permitted according to the prox-
imity of relationship.

Thus, all sons share alike in the inheritance without regard to age,
whilst daughters may share in it but on the basis of one share to a
girl for every two shares to a boy. This was an advance on previous
practice in as far as the girl was concerned, as previous to his time,
women had no right at all to inherit. There is no reference to primo-
geniture or, alternatively, to favouritism for a favourite son or the

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19) *The Koran,* trans. Dawood.

youngest son. A large number of members in the family circle are permitted to have their allocations, including sisters, wives, mothers, mothers' brothers, grandmothers and granddaughters. It is probable that in these matters the Prophet was guided in the main by earlier Arabian custom, making it more uniform for the Islamic community and seeking to be equitable to all concerned. If a man died childless, his wives each have a quarter of his property, i.e. for four wives, this meant an equal share in his possessions. If he dies with issue, then each wife has an eighth, i.e. the wives share half his property, whilst the issue have the other half (IV, 14), after debts and other legacies have been paid.

It is regarded as a "duty incumbent on the righteous", that "when death draws nigh to one of you, and he has goods to leave, is the making of a testamentary declaration in favour of parents and relatives reputably — a duty resting on those who show piety" (II, 176). This is the case for a husband or wife, as the woman has the right to make a testamentary disposition of her goods (IV, 13). Such care serves to strengthen family solidarity, since the major portion of a man's or a woman's possessions were to be shared within the circle of the family itself, whatever other dispositions or bequests were made.

It may well be claimed that such a firm legal system has itself helped to ensure the strength and solidarity of the Muslim family. The strong position of the father (especially with his freedom in matters of divorce) has kept the women of the household within a very limited sphere of activities. The household itself has embraced a large society, however, as it has included not only the wives and children but slaves and concubines, foster children and relatives. The pattern, apart from the distinct local variations of long standing, has probably remained little changed since the Prophet's own day in the sixth century. Nevertheless, the 'winds of change' have had a powerful influence on the Islamic world. The need for more technology and urban development has brought increased pressure by young people of both sexes for Western-styled education. Younger women, in particular, have begun to seek wider social and educational opportunities. The abolition of the veil and of seclusion, as tokens of male superiority; the postponement of marriage and the abolition of polygamy have been in the forefront of feminist programmes in India, Egypt and especially Turkey. Such changes would bring the Muslim pattern much closer to the traditional Western family of the Judaeo-Christian pattern.

THE PRACTICE OF PRESENCE

BY

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A discussion of some of the factors which make up the apprehension
of the supernatural with special reference to West Africa.

Introduction

To pre-scientific man, Nature is a medley of *presences*. The blaze
of a flash of sheet-lightning, the frightening din of a thunder-clap, the
destruction wreaked by winds of gale-force; or the sudden encounter
in a forest, of a menacing serpent or of a beast of prey e.g. a lion or
a tiger, or the sudden darkness that obscures a bright moonlight during
a lunar eclipse; the change that comes on a man of stalwart physique
as a result of sickness, and his subsequent death, all give the impres-
sion of a *presence* or *presences* within Nature. So too the unusual
behaviour of the night-jar, the bat and the owl—birds which go out at
night when other birds have gone to roost—strike pre-scientific man as
possessing special qualities which suggest their possession of special
powers, attributable to a *presence*. Similar ideas are held of trees which
are hard to cut and of stones and rocks of peculiar shapes and sizes.
In short, man at this stage, attributes *presences* to the factors which
constitute his environment. These *presences* therefore make up reality
for him. These contrasts and contradictions of life are however not
limited to early man. In the language of John Baillie, "Reality is what
I come up against, what takes me by surprise, the other-than-myself
which pulls me up and obliges me to reckon with it and adjust myself
to it because it will not consent simply to adjust itself to me." [1] "For
most of the time, reality shows itself in its concealments." [2] It cannot
therefore be apprehended by finite minds, however intelligent they
may be. This experience of being confronted by a *something*, one

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[1]   John Baillie, *The Sense of the Presence of God*, London 1962, p. 33.
[2] E. O. James, *Religion and Reality*, London 1950, p. 10. Vincent Vycinas,
Earth and Gods, the Hague, 1961, pp. 29, 216-220.

cannot fully interpret leads to the awareness of the *Other*, the *Thou*, I would prefer the *Him*. Conative and emotional factors are thus evoked in the individual, and his behaviour is accordingly determined by them. A discussion of the *Practice of Presence* in West Africa is therefore essentially an attempt to examine some of the ways in which, early man and the West African, in particular, essayed to interpret and to deal with the factors of his environment which confronted him.

Early man and his environment

Early man did not make any analytical distinction between himself and his environment. For early man, reality was a single whole. He felt himself part of the whole environment around him. Indeed, he did not distinguish between the various parts of his body and their several functions, on the one hand, and the totality of his existence, on the other. Thus, for example, as in almost all Africa, a man's person was thought to be exposed to danger, if the clippings of his hair, the parings of his finger nails, the footmarks that he left behind or his clothes were to come within the reach of an enemy. He also kept his name dark to a stranger for the same reason. Indeed, up to less than fifty years ago, barbers were not popular in Freetown. Hair-cutting was done at home, and the clippings were carefully collected afterwards. It used also to be said that if the fire-finch, a reddish coloured bird which hopped around houses with a sense of security, should pick up the clippings to make its nest warm, the person from whose head they had been cut out would go mad.

One feature of this attitude which is related to the present study is the tendency in West Africa to attribute human qualities to animals and inanimate objects. So the Akan regard the bat as a diplomat; to the Yoruba, vultures are embodied manifestations of the dead who always flock to places where family sacrificial rites are performed in honour of the dead, although in fact they are attracted by the carrion. So too, the chameleon is a messenger of *Olodumare*, the Yoruba God. A Limba story which in all respects is a version of the story of Adam and Eve, resolves the temptation in the garden of Eden by the explicit remark that the serpent made love with Eve (*Ifu* in the story). [3]

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3) Ruth Finegan, *Limba Stories*, London 1967, Story of *Adama* and *Ifu*, pp. 67 ff.

The Temme of Sierra Leone believe that the spider is capable of detective powers and embodies cunning and astuteness, because of its capacity to propel itself along a strand of its thin web. This anthropomorphism is noticeable in the stories which are told among the West African tribes. Trees and stones are also believed to have power and excellence which is usually expressed in terms of spirits, conceived as human beings, residing in them. The more unusual the stone or the tree, the more powerful it became to pre-scientific man. So the Akan attribute a fierce spirit, (*sunsum*), to the *tweneboa* tree, an African cedar(?), because it resists cutting and therefore, when felled, provides a log which could be deeply excavated to a thin layer which produces a high resonance, when fitted with a skin membrane to make a drum. (This is the wood used for making the *ntumpane* or talking drums). Because of the potential resistibility of this wood, the Akan appease the spirit with eggs and rum, before felling it, and, again, before excavating it into the hollow cylinder over which the skin membrane is stretched. They however later invite the spirit to return to the hollow wood as to its original habitat. [4]) The darkness caused by a lunar eclipse, especially when it is total, is attributed to either a spirit which attacked the moon, (so the Mende), or to a struggle between the sun and the moon (so the Yoruba). But perhaps even more so powerful, are the features of the thick forests, the grasses and savannahs of the tropics—the habitat of prowling spirits; so when a man loses his way in a forest and often never returns or is found distraught and exhausted after an intense search, he is said to have been the victim of a huge forest monster. The Akan of Ghana call him *sasabonsam*, which they say, sits in the branches of trees dangling his legs, in wait for a lone traveller. The Mende of Sierra Leone talk of a hairy man called *Dᵓgbᵓ-joso*, (forest-wizard), who is also referred to by the Temnes and Sierra Leone Creoles as *ronsho*. In every case it is held that he compels travellers to travel far into the forest and so become liable to perish as a result of exhaustion. Again, some men perhaps in a state of emotional instability, are said to encounter in cleared patches bordering a farm or within a forest, little men (Akan, *mmoatia*, Mende, *tenui*), which possess oracular powers and teach them the medicinal value of certain

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4) R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti*, Oxford 1923, p. 258-262 f.

herbs. [5]) Even birds fluttering in the forest and calling, to one another, perhaps in their mating season, are suggestive of spirits accompanying the travellers who hear them.

This is true of the Mende, *Bofio*. So a Mende traveller who hears the cry of the *Bofio* always makes an offering of something he is carrying—a piece of leaf tobacco or some food—which he lays along the road-side, saying at the same time, "Cease calling, here is a present for you"! River-spirits are postulated chiefly to explain rapids, and whirlpools, or to account for the foam that is created when a river rushes past a huge rock jutting above its surface, or when frail craft founder on a like rock before the river has been adequately charted. To the West African then, nature is full of *power, power* like man's but often hostile to him. We may go on to say then that long before man practised agriculture he had come to realize that the discovery of fire was a key achievement for his life and work. Fire burns and destroys much of the environment. It is said to be most feared and, perhaps, the single dangerous enemy of the reptile world. But fire burns man. The *Kposso* myth on the origin of leprosy suggests that primitive man was not himself left unscathed by his invention. [6])

Again, pre-scientific man is afraid of sickness and death. The Temne of Sierra Leone personalise sickness as an old man and death as a man in the vigour of youth sent down to the world by the Supreme Deity. So sickness and death are thought of as messengers of God. [7]) The *Kposso* too believe that mankind suffers from leprosy because a bird whom God produced out of fire, beat a man, *Sropa*, who disobeyed God's orders not to warm himself by means of fire.

This is the basis of mythical thought by which man began to invent explanations of his experiences. At the beginning, man was part of the totality of his environment. With the apprehension of power, man began to distinguish between himself and the constituent elements of his environment. So in West Africa, there has developed a whole catalogue of spirits to explain the basis of world-order. The World is full

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5) Daryll Forde, *African Worlds*, London 1954, Essay by K. A. Busia on *The Ashanti*, p. 195. cp Kenneth Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone*, London 1951, p. 225.

6) Hans Abrahamsson, *The Origin of Death*, (Studia Ethnographia Uppsaliensia III E.T.) London 1951, p. 73.

7) C. F. Schlenker, *A Collection of Temne Traditions, Fables etc.* London 1864, p. 28 f.

of spirits, ranged around a supreme spirit, the Deity, God. Animals, trees and stones have souls, or at least are inhabited by spirits, some of which are naturally hostile to man or become so when angered. To the Supreme Deity is attributed the creation of the physical and spiritual forces in the world; The Earth itself is a spirit and, sometimes a goddess; in some areas, she is the wife of the Supreme Deity. Just as seminal fluid waters the body of a woman, thereby causing her to bring forth children, so rain, falling on the earth from the sky, produces vegetation. Where, as in the case of the Akan, the Supreme Deity was earlier conceived as a Lunar mother-goddess, the Earth was thought of as her daughter—with a double aspect, the one producing vegetation, *Asaase Afua*, and, the other, identified with barrenness and death, (*Asaase Yaa.*) The consequential rivers that flow along the surface of the earth were also thought by the Akan to be gods e.g. River *Tano* whose progeny is legion, all of them gods. Accordingly, to the Akan, water *per se* possesses a power which it loses when boiled. Boiled water is therefore used only for washing corpses but never an infant. [8]) Among the Mendi, in Sierra Leone, the Earth is *ŋgewɔ nyahɛi, Maa-Ndɔɔ*, Mother Earth, *ŋgewɔ's* wife or sometimes *Maa-ŋgewɔ*, Mrs. *ŋgewɔ*, and so, Mother God, where *ŋgewɔ* is a male deity.

The Earth is in any case, a power. All vegetable life-forms sprout forth from it; the dead lie buried in it and their influence on man, for better or for worse is associated with it. We shall consider the ancestral dead later. Vegetable life, however, suggests the origins of human life and so babies are believed to take their origin from the earth.

The reality of life is thus conceived as an encounter between man and other spirit-influences which are generally different from and in some cases resistant to man. They are all regarded as being more powerful than man.

So there develops a concept of Power as an aspect of *Presence.* God is the great Power and the rest of creation constitute, in essence, the manifestation, in large or small measure, of Power. *Presence* has now assumed the dimension of Power, residing in some object—man and objects other than man. [9])

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8) Rattray, *Ashanti*, Oxford 1923, p. 54.
9) cp Fr Placide Tempels, *Bantu Philosophy*, Presence Africaine 1959, pp. 30-39, 64 f.

Man's discovery of himself

The most concrete instance of *Presence* is however, man, himself. His own body is a *Presence*. A child learns to discover the various parts of his body—his nose, his mouth, his forehead, his toes, his ankles, his ears, his eyes, his hair, and so on. No doubt he had already used them as instruments of smelling, eating, seeing, hearing, holding and gripping since he was a few weeks old. But he only apprehends the fact of their existence when the child discovers them as separate parts of his body. The way a baby, say, 18 months old, comes to experience water running from a tap flowing on, and through his fingers is truly illuminating. In spite of mother's rebukes, I have been fascinated by the way infants in their second year of life have refused to let me turn a tap off when, after having washed their hands, they let the water trickle through their fingers. I admit this is an experience into which I can not now fully enter. But after watching several generations of children, I believe I can safely infer what it is. Their behaviour has left me with the impression always that it thrills them to perform this exercise. I have myself tried to reconstruct their experiences by letting water run through my fingers from a tap and have been led to the conclusion that the experience is at two levels:

First, one becomes sensitive to the *presence* of the water because of its coldness; secondly, the separate fingers acquire an individuality as the cold water produces a feeling of numbness in each finger. Each finger now feels different from the other. For an infant, this awareness constitutes a real discovery. To this discovery we may add the well known tendency for children not only to acquire invisible playmates at the age of four but also to treat the flowers and plants around their home as imaginary human beings. They talk to them, sometimes in ways repetitive of their own experiences with the members of their family. These illustrations are, in fact, indicative of the experience of primitive man. He projects himself into his environment and so postulates the spirits to which we referred earlier.

In short, then, Reality becomes cognizable with the discovery of man by early man, a discovery which, as has been said already, leads to the distinction between the first and second or third person, *I* and *Thou* or, preferably, *Him*.

At this stage man develops two contradictory attitudes. He sees in the inanimate objects all round him, instances of the human capacities

he has discovered in himself, and so develops the attitude described
by Levy-Bruhl as the *Law of Participation.* [10]) At the same time, he
tends to feel himself at their mercy. Inanimate objects have Power like
man's Yes! but the power of the (Akan) *tweneboa* tree seems to be
greater than man's. The *Olumɔ*, Rock of Abeokuta in Nigeria, towers
high above the ground as one solid ball, but in fact it enclose cavities
which can shelter several hundred men and did on one occasion save
them from utter destruction. Man therefore begins to attribute Power
to the inanimate objects of his perception, and so begins to draw a
distinction between himself and them. But are the percepts, reflections
of man's image of himself or are they the criterion on which he develops
his own self-consciousness? In West Africa, the Akan believed that the
sun that sets on one evening dies and another comes up on the next day.
Equally, to the Yoruba of Nigeria a lunar eclipse is the result of a
struggle between the sun and the moon; to the Mende of Sierra Leone,
the struggle takes place between the moon and some celestial spiritual
being, (*nyaŋguma*). What then is the basis on which this kind of
reasoning is worked out? Is the death of the sun postulated in terms of
man's death and total disappearance? The Akan answer is in terms of
a postulated deity, *Odomankoma* who is said to have made death eat
poison, when death killed him. Is the lunar eclipse suggestive of man's
experience of obstacles which thwart his progress? Or is the resulting
darkness a symbol of death to all mankind? a factor of special signifi-
cance to a migratory tribe. Man is thus led first to believe that Nature
is a powerful agent; later fear and a sense of helplessness creates in him
the sense of the numinous, with its twin contrary components—the
mysterium tremendum et fascinans. [11]) But he first resists and seeks
to control the forces which constitute his environment, by devising a
power which he postulates can subdue them. This is *magic.* The factors
of life however remain unbending and so he surrenders and later sub-
ordinates himself to the numinous. He then establishes a code of ethical
behaviour that would establish a full rapport with the deity he serves.
This is religion. The discovery of the numinous is a hierophany which
leads to an apprehension of the *sacred.*

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10) Lucien Levy-Bruhl, *The 'Soul' of the Primitive* E.T. London 1965, p. 19;
cp Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, New Haven 1960 Edition,
Vol. II, pp. 156, 179, 183.
11) Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, London 1931, cap 3, 4.

We refer to this experience as an *I* and *Thou* or *Him*-relationship by which we mean that the *I* attributes to the *Thou* or *Him*-factor the form of activity that it attributes to itself. This attitude explains "the animism both of young children and of primitive man." [12]) In other words, we would say that at the lowest stages of human existence there exists, on the one hand, a mythical concept of the soul, and so of projected psychic factors in things material and, on the other, the manifestation of demonic power to which he is likely to succumb. We now find a bond created between the *I* and the *Thou* or *Him* through which contrary situations of a definite unity and a definite contrast; a relation of kinship and a relation of tension are created between the individual and his environment. These relationships form the bases of *totems* and their correlative *taboos*. Man now finds himself in a position in which his ideals assume psychic form embodied in physical entities which become alien to himself. As a result, demonic powers dominate the individual's experience. Indeed, even his own soul, tends to assume demonic proportions. [13]) So, as among the Yoruba, the belief prevails that everyone is born with a fixed destiny, *Ori*, the personality soul, (literally, a head). But the term also implies a man's future destiny, granted him by the Supreme Deity, *Ɔlɔrun*. Again, an individual may also look like an embodiment of his grandfather's spirit, *Ori* may then connote a spiritual *double*, a guardian angel with which the individual has to live harmoniously. A man who violates his *Ori* may then either fall ill or, meet with bad success in his profession. [14]) Here the *Akan* concept of *kra* and *sunsum* is also significant. Everyone has a spark of deity, his *kra* which is the vital principle of blood, coming down from the supreme deity, at first *Nyame,* but later *Nyankopon,* as well as a personality-soul, *sunsum,* originally associated with *Odomankoma*, which according to the later assumptions, he derives from his father. The *kra* and the *sunsum* are however often said to be liable to struggle, each with the other when the *sunsum* is not attuned to the demands of the *kra*. In such a case, the disharmony leads to physical illness. At the same time protection from evil attacks, e.g. of witches, is attributed to the *kra*. A similar concept

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12) John MacMurray, *The Self as Agent*, London 1957, p. 117.
13) cp Ernst Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 168 f.
14) cp E. B. Idowu, *Olodumare*, London 1962 Cap 13; *Odu*, No. 2 Article by Bradbury on *Ehi*; Meyer Fortes, *Oedipus and Job*, Cambridge 1959, Cap 61.

is embodied in the Tallensi *Ehi*, the local word for *fate* and destiny. [15])
In this context the individual's voice, as representative of his soul can
be either a supporting influence, as when a blessing is uttered, or a
destroying agent, as when a curse is uttered, the latter phenomenon
being a demonic expression of the spiritual power inherent in the
individual.

This demonic aspect of the soul is best noticed at the communal level
where it performs the functions of conscience. Ontologically, conscience
in this context, represents a *communis sensus*, built up in the individual
by informal education from early childhood as a result of which an in-
built resistance to wrong-doing, private or public, is first established,
and then maintained through appropriate practical instruction on the
dangers which would result from any violation of the several sanctions.
Thus, among the Mende of Sierra Leone, although no one may know
that a man or woman has committed incest, yet he falls ill and so has
to go first, to a diviner who directs him to a *Hum'i* priest. He is then
brought to the cultic shrine where he makes a full and open confession
of his actions, offers a sacrifice, is ritually washed, pays a fine and re-
turns home with confident hope of a speedy recovery. Again, among
the *Mende* we have the very interesting situation where when, a man
plants a cassave farm, he usually places a guardian *medicine* in it to
ward off thieves and often, witches also. The invocation of this guardian
medicine always includes however a venial clause which allows for a
long-distance traveller or anyone who is genuinely hungry to pluck up a
root of cassava and eat enough to satisfy his hunger, provided he does
not remove any for later use. The result is that we find two men, the
one, on a long-distance journey or genuinely hungry, and the other, a
thief, both plucking roots of cassava from someone else's farm. The
traveller or genuinely hungry person, if he keeps to the rules, will feel
no ill after-effects. The thief will fall ill and later develop a compulsion
for confessing his theft, to a native-doctor to whom he would have been
directed by a diviner. He then has to go through a religious rite, fol-
lowed by an act of restitution, before he recovers.

Here then we see how pre-scientific man reacts to his environment

15) Eva Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana*, pp. 47, 146. H. Debrunner, *Witch-
craft in Ghana*, Kumasi 1959, Cap 3. Dr. J. B. Danquah refers to the *kra* as the
soul, and to the *sunsum* as personality. (*The Akan Doctrine of God*, London 1944
Section IV, Cap. II, p. 111 f); Meyer Fortes, *Oedipus and Job*.

both by efforts to control it as well as by sheer submission to it. In both cases the *I* is fully involved. As we have already noted, these two features are the result of the discovery of the *Thou* or *Him* and also of the later apprehension of the *I* as an ethical subject. A basic ingredient in this development is the role of *desire*—human desire. The two illustrations taken from among the Mende, mentioned above are typical. In general, judging from the prayers uttered at sacrificial rites, the petitions are chiefly in regard to rain, fruitful harvests, the fertility of the women, health to the babies and strength and success to the men. [16]) We would therefore suggest that *desire* constitutes the fount of the religious consciousness, i.e. that sense of the *presence* of the unseen which creates in man a sense of values, especially of good and evil; of right and wrong. My understanding of tribal life leads me to the view that whilst the various creation-myths always tend to postulate a primal couple, sometimes just a single man, man, however, only becomes aware of himself in the double context of *I* and *Thou* or *Him*.

(a) with respect to his fellow-man

and (b) with respect to the material objects around him. [17])

In a Temme myth recorded by Schlenker, the latter relationship seems to come first. [18]) But the human situations always seem to be reproduced in nature, in other recorded myths. Thus, the *I—Thou* or *Him* relationships present a double problem:

(i) The postulation of divine destiny granted to the individual before the soul enters the body. He may choose his destiny or it may be conferred on Him by the supreme Deity at a leave-taking ceremony, before his birth. This notion raises questions of *creationism* which call for further investigation; it certainly forms an integral factor in primitive mythical reasoning.

(ii) The recognition of the existence of human characteristics inherited from one's physical parents, and earlier forbears. So although the *Akan kra* is a divine spark, yet the *sunsum*, later identified with the *ntorɔ* is understood to be inherited from the father, and the father's *ntorɔ* god associated with water—chiefly an expanse of water. At the other end of the scale, we find the Mende of Sierra Leone believe that

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16) This notion is present in the attitude towards rain as the divine seminal fluid which fertilises the Earth. (cp Ernst Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 190).

17) Ernst Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

18) C. F. Schlenker, *op. cit.*, p. 13 ff.

a man inherits his spirit *ŋgafa*, from his mother, and his blood, flesh
and bones from his father. At the same time, since the Earth is often
described on solemn occasions as Mother-God *) and more frequently
so as Mrs *ŋgewↄ* as in the invocation, "You and Your wife, Mother
Earth", there does seem to exist an implicit belief among the Mende
that everybody is
(a) supposed to have originated from the Earth and so
(b) has a divine spark, even if not directly acquired from the Supreme
      Being.
   It seems justified to suggest, therefore, that the processes of human
pro-creation are implied in the assumption that the Earth is the Mother
of mankind, with *gewↄ* in the sky as the ultimate Father. She is *maa-
ndↄↄ*, Mother-Earth.
   In some cases, these two aspects overlap as in the case of the Yoruba,
Ori. Man is thus a combination of two presences—the one supernatural,
derived from the supreme God. I shall call this *presence theomorphic*;
the other, *genetic*, derived from one's human predecessors which I shall
call *patri*—or, as in the case of the Mende, *matri*—morphic. Two new
factors now emerge:
      (i) the community with special reference to the ancestors,
and (ii) the Supreme God and various tutelary deities including
           the Earth.
   We are now in the sphere of religion—the core of tribal life.

Religion and communal tribal life
   Tribalism is thus usually described in language which presents it as
resistant to change and therefore not attuned to the contemporary
situation. This study is however concerned, primarily, with the role of
religion in tribal life. Tribal life is, however, through and through,
religious. The society is maintained by its religious outlook. At the same
time, "the true object of religion, the sole and original object to which
all religious forms and expressions can be traced back, is the social
group to which the individual indissolubly belongs". Tribal man more
than any other is always made aware by the structure of his society
that he is a link in a chain of life, which consists of the whole society;
a chain preserved by the religious rites and observances of the com-

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*) In a sense simiar to Mother Hubbard, i.e. a woman with a large family.

munity. An interesting example of this attitude is seen when a curse is laid among the Mende of Sierra Leone, in relation to a case of theft. The theft is reported to the chief and the intention of the victim to lay a curse, (*sondu*), usually, wrongly translated *swear*, is made known to the chief of the town or village. The *medicine* to be used is declared and a token fee paid to him for permission to perform the rite on a requested site. When this permission has been obtained, public notification both of the theft and the intention to lay the curse is made around the village, in some cases by an official town-crier, on three successive nights, i.e. at times when everybody is supposed to be back home after the day's work on the farm. Then the whole village is summoned to the site where the curse is to be laid. The theft is once more reported, the attendant circumstances consequent to the curse is described, and the curse laid. The onlookers thus give their approval, as a community, to the act.

But the offender is not the only person mentioned. All his relations, anyone with whom he may have shared the stolen article, especially so if it was food; any friend closely associated with him; in short, anyone, who may know or be even vaguely aware of the possible identity of the culprit, comes under the curse. In that way, information is often released, or someone comes forward to stand in for a supposed suspect and makes restitution to the victim for his loss and the expenses, he has incurred in connection with all the preparations for laying the curse. This sense of corporateness is manifested in other areas where the socio-moral code has been violated. Thus in one version of the *Hum'i* cult among the Mende, the close relations of a person guilty of incest, who are within easy reach are all brought together and casti-gated as part of the cleansing ceremony by which the penitent is restored to normal societary privileges. So too when a young Mende man invokes the curse of a maternal uncle for disloyalty often through refusal to obey his behests, all his brothers and sisters are required to take part in a ceremony at which they are each personally forgiven for the disobedience of the offending brother. A collective dimension is obviously attributed to the cases we have been describing.

But this attitude does not mean the total obscurity of the individual. His personal claims are respected and his personal dignity maintained. Thus among the Mende of Sierra Leone, a man who had, say, several men in his employ, or, in the old days, owned many slaves, was expected

to treat them all with comparable fairness and impartiality. If he failed
to do so, the aggrieved servant could invoke *hakɛ,* a curse associated
with bad human relationships. It is believed that *hakɛ* has the peculiar
character of being able to pursue an offender even after his death.
Hakɛ is obviously a demonic *presence* which can only be revoked by a
religious sacrificial rite. This close inter-action of religious attitudes and
social behaviour influences every aspect of tribal life and determines
customary behaviour.

Witch-craft

At this stage we must make a brief reference to the belief in witch-
craft particularly so, that type which is said to be able to leave the body
when the witch is asleep and goes out to attack another person, infant
or adult, when he also is asleep. We would here suggest that the belief
is an expression of the disapproval of a breach of world-order. (As
could be inferred already, tribal life is strictly traditional and does
not readily admit of any violations of the accepted order. Tribal society
therefore frowns on any departure from the norm). Since this form
of witchcraft is associated with the destruction of life, in societies like
those of the Yoruba or Mende, for example, witches are usually women.
On close examination, witchcraft is associated with women who are
queer, who are past child-bearing and indeed disinterested in, even if
not resistant, to, male associations; who are hostile to children; who
are cruel, often tending to be sadistic; or who are callous and capable
of revolting behaviour not thought to be compatible with the accepted
gentility associated with motherhood, and lady-like elegance and dignity.

Here again is a *presence* which tends to destroy life and does not
contribute to the well-being of the community. In this context, it is
remarkable that incestuous practices and witchcraft are said by Rad-
cliffe-Brown to be closely associated. He goes on to say "There is a
widespread belief in Africa that a man can obtain the greatest power
as a sorcerer by incestuous intercourse with his mother or his
sister." [19]) It is thus not surprising that Laubscher writing of the
Tembu of South Africa remarks that "The native's attitude and reac-
tions towards witchcraft have some analogy to the thinking and acting

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19) A. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, *African Systems of Kinship and
Marriage,* London 1962, p. 72; cp J. H. Middleton, *Lugbara Religion,* London
1960, p. 111.

of the compulsive neurotic patient. Both are struggling against the dynamic expressions of forbidden impulses. The obsessional neurotic is defending himself from the world of mythical beings". [20]) Laubscher is obviously thinking of two mythical beings: First, the *Tikoloshe*, a mythical dwarfish man with a *huge penis*, often mentioned by the Tembu women, as having "great knowledge of witchcraft ... and is frequently named as the vehicle by means of which other persons exercise witchcraft". He is at the same time said to be "known to put himself at the disposal of those wishing to counteract witchcraft." [21]) Secondly, the *Impundulu*, a bird "with beautifully and highly-prized feathers", which is supposed to be "a powerful carrier of witchcraft." It is believed to be sadistic and "to cohabit quite regularly with witches"; and is described as having a penis said to be "long, thick and flat and about the size and appearance of an ox-tongue." [22]) Alastair Scobie, writing of the Transvaal, also relates how young women of that country enjoyed copulation with baboons. They are therefore branded as witches and are said to acquire by such an act, a familiar, often described as a cross between a human being and a baboon, but more often as a dwarf. [23])

These instances of witchcraft emphasize an aspect often little recognized. Significant, therefore, as Marjorie Field's analysis of witchcraft in Ghana is, one cannot help concluding, however, that her diagnosis of witchcraft in terms of anxiety and depression is limited and primarily suits the patient who assumes that he or she is a victim of witchcraft. We yet have to explain this belief not only in terms of the condition and attitude of the victim but in the wider context of those who accuse others of acts of witchcraft and the correlative universal dread of the spirits of witches. In this context, Chief Anthony Enahoro's claim that better health and education reduces the belief in witchcraft is not supported by most of those who have gone seriously into the problem. [24]) I suggest therefore that basic to witchcraft is the question "why"? to

20) B. J. F. Lanbscher, *Sex, Custom and Psycho-Pathology*, London 1951, p. 51.
21) *ibidem*, p. 8 f.
22) *ibidem*, p. 13 f.
23) Alistair Scobie, *Murder for Magic*, London 1965, p.
24) Chief Anthony Enahorto, *Fugitive Offender*, London 1965, p. 25 f; Malinowski, for example, says that Witchcraft is on the increase with the expension of European civilisations (see *The Dynamics of Culture Change*, New Haven and London, 1945, p. 94).

sadism. In the African situation, sadism and the postulation of witch-craft seem generally to go together. Sadism, in West Africa, is there-fore the manifestation of a *presence* which is hostile to the well-being of communal life and is therefore condemned publicly. It has demonic overtones. So the owl, predatory animals which destroy food-crop har-vests at night, any pest infestations which destroy stocks of food—rats, termites, for example—the kr-kr-kr-r-r-r of the vampire bat are physical manifestations of witches in action. The vampire bat sucks the blood of babies and so leaves them lame in one or both limbs.

We live with our dead [25])

However strong and influential the factors that affect the relation-ships of the living may be, perhaps, the most important social bond is that of the relation of the living members of a tribe or clan or family to their ancestral dead. Not all the dead are regarded as of ancestor-class. This is true of babies and in some areas of adults who die child-less, (in particular, without a male child). In addition, the spirits of those who either met with a violent death, or who were denounced as witches, or who were believed to have died prematurely are said to be outside the acknowledged abode of the dead. Thus there are the so-called wandering spirits—the *Saman-twentwen* of the Akan, and the *pelehunga-yafɛisia* of the Mende; to quote two examples. Of course the spirits of witches are, as far as one can judge, not allowed to sur-vive—the corpses of witches are either burnt, (the Efik), dismembered, (the Temne), thrown in swamps (the Kalabari), or buried in a shallow grave, (the Mende). In general, however, the dead were usually buried in or around their homes as among the Mende of Sierra Leone for example. But even though dead, the ancestors play an ambivalent role. First, they are believed to continue to exist in their descendants by re-incarnation. Indeed, even before he dies, an Akan grandfather would spit into the mouth of his grandson, at the out-dooring ceremony in order to strengthen his *sunsum* or *ntorɔ* already passed on, perhaps in

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25) The trite remark by Professor C. G. Baeta of Ghana, "... our people here *live* with their dead" (*Christianity and African Culture*, A Christian Council Publication of the Gold Coast, Accra 1955, p. 591); cp Ernst Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 175 f.

a diluted form, through his son, the father of the infant. When a child is born soon after the death of either of the husband's parents, the Yoruba call him *Babatunde* or *Iyatunde*, if a girl, i.e. 'father or mother has come back'. The Akan believe that the souls of their deceased are re-incarnated in the family to enable them to attain their original destiny. Of course, this notion is based on a fractional interpretation of re-incarnation, because the spirit of a deceased person could at the same time, be invoked at his grave-side. Most West Africans adopt this theory of re-incarnation to explain the genetic factors which are present in the procreative process. We recall what had been said earlier of the Yoruba *Ori*, viz: that the term may mean, grandfather's spirit, and at the same time, one's double. In short, they assume that the ancestors live close to their descendants or are, at least, of ready access to them. Secondly, the ancestors exercise juridical and economic authority over their descendants. It is remarkable that in Sierra Leone, and indeed in the capital, Freetown, the ancestral rites are always occasions of family re-unions and of settling inter-family disputes. The assumed authoritative *presence* of the ancestors makes it imperative that their descendants, present or absent, are of one accord. This attitude is quite marked among the westernised and Christianised Creoles of Freetown. The authority once wielded by the ancestral dead, during their life-time in the maintenance of good moral standards is always assumed to be implicitly predominant. [26]) Among the *Mende* of Sierra Leone, the invocations at a national festival begin from the oldest remembered dead to the latest, before reference is made to the generality of forbears no longer remembered individually. They are the apical factors of the life of the nation, the tribe, the clan and the family. The ancestral spirits are in general well-disposed towards the members of their families. Of course, they could get angry and vengeful. It is therefore desirable both to maintain the family ties intact. Close as well as distant relatives are therefore all, alike, under a moral obligation to contribute towards the funeral rites of members of the family, whether nuclear or extended. When a relative cannot participate at an actual funeral, other opportunities are provided e.g. second burials among the Yoruba, or festivities to mark seventh and fortieth days or anni-

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26) cp *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion,* Vol. 7, No. 2, December 1965, pp. 48-55. Article by Harry Sawyerr on *Some Graveside Libations in and near Free-town.*

versaries. A respected, and therefore good member of the family must
however go into the spirit world endued with goodness. The Mende of
Sierra Leone therefore ensure that the spirit of an otherwise good
person does not meet with any misfortunes, caused by a vengeful atti-
tude of anyone he might have offended. They have therefore devised
a rite, *Kpila gbualɛi,* (removing the grounds for complaints), at which
all, who bear him a grudge, come forward and state their grievances and
all, to whom he is indebted, state their claims for payments due them,
before he is buried. A senior member of the family of the deceased
then stands surety, sometimes nominally, for the debts. After all the
grievances have been declared, and the payment of just debts is en-
sured, everybody present, one by one, declares, *"hakɛ i lo,"* i.e. "May
the (avenging) curse, (*hakɛ*) which would have followed him in the
other world because of the grievances we held against him be stayed"!

Conclusion

In a brief study of some of the factors which constitute *Presence,*
in the West African situation, we recall that the individual begins by
identifying himself with the animate and inanimate elements of Na-
ture. Later, he comes to distinguish himself from them, through the
frustration that comes of being thwarted by some superior physical
force to which he attributes psychical essence. He however comes to find
that there is yet a sub-division or sub-divisions within himself, all of
which he first tends to assume are replicas of his total individual per-
sonality. So his voice, his shadow, the clippings of his hair, the parings
of his nails are all segmented parts of his person, all of which are en-
dowed with power. Some of these may be directed outwards, away from
him, as when he utters a blessing or a curse; or they may turn against
him with demonic violence as is the case of the in-built mechanism
which compels a man with an uneasy conscience—usually when he feels
himself the victim of a curse—to confess a crime which had not been
hitherto detected.

Man's concept of himself thus develops a bi-polar content, the one,
a guardian angel, well disposed towards him and the other, a hostile
demonic force, alien to him. In this context, *desire,* becomes an im-
portant and dominant factor. Values, accordingly emerge which take
their origin from a *communis sensus* derived from the community to
which the individual belongs. So the *I* having first discovered the *Thou*

or *Him* of his environment, subsequently classifies this into a *Thou* or *Him* of the other person as well as a *Thou* or *Him* of material objects he regards as possessing psychic qualities. Later, he himself plays the double role of an *I* and a *Thou* with relation to himself. The last *Thou* being in fact the *self* as *object* and the *I*, the *self* as *subject*.

When the *I* arrives at the stage where it can be both *subject* and *object*, man has also come to taste of experience. But is all experience of the *subject-object* type? We are reminded of Professor I. T. Ramsey's references to *"odd-discernment."* [27]) We also recall the earlier remark that reality is a confrontation, one rich instance of which, we then noted, led to the discovery of persons. Even the discovery of the self is an *odd-discernment*. Out of these odd situations there always seems to emerge the recognition of something to which man feels himself committed. Primitive man sees this, first, in his use of tools and in the invention of fire. Thus among the *Mende* of Sierra Leone, farmers always look for a good whetstone on any land they intend to cultivate. If they find a suitable one they keep it for several generations within the same family. Sometimes neighbouring farmers ask to use it. After a given period of varying duration, the stone becomes sacred to its users and is sometimes used to lay a curse. It is believed that the guilty person would see, in a dream, a man *in a yellow gown* when such a curse had been laid, and that this man is the personification of the power that resides in the stone. The *odd-discernment* of a given piece of rock as a good whetstone has moved on to an *odd-commitment* by which the whetstone is preserved by the family and the apprehension of a being of transcendence identified with it. Man has at last reached a stage at which the unseen has an impelling call. He is on the quest for the divine, but he only has concrete material factors available. So he moves in two planes. He creates minor deities or "fetishes" of an ever increasing number. For example, it is said that the Yoruba have 401 such divinities on a conservative estimate; but, as Professor Idowu suggests, there may easily be 1700 of them. [28]) The shrine of *Orisa-nla* at Ife is surrounded by hundreds of little shrines representing various grades of the ministers of Olodumare. These

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27) I. T. Ramsey, *Religious Language*, London 1957, p. 47, see the whole of Cap 1.

28) See E. B. Idowu, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 67 f. Samuel Johnson, *A History of the Yorubas*, London 1921, p. 38.

minor deities provide the answer to man's immediate needs. Some offer supernatural help to the hunter e.g. the Yoruba *Ogun*; others represent energy, e.g. of lightning (Yoruba, *Shango*); yet others still prosper the cultivation of the land e.g. Ibo, *Ala,* and some determine the good conduct of the society, e.g. Mende, *Hum'i.* We have already referred to the rivers of Ghana and to *Tano* in particular. These gods can offer considerable help when invoked, and so man bends his will to their dictates. But there are, however, ultimate situations in which they do not satisfy man's desires. Their devotees may be committed to them but their commitment tends to be incomplete. Drought, famine and the crises of life call for a more effective *presence.* So God is postulated as the supreme Spirit. He is supreme over all. All the spirits derive their power from Him and in the ultimate crises He is Lord over all. [29] Meanwhile, it is believed that He is not readily accessible to man; at the same time, as if by contradiction, man is always able to call on Him in times of personal distress. Man's sleeping and waking up are also His concern. Every action good or bad is said to be ultimately sanctioned by Him. So, the Mende, for example, always end their prayers to the ancestors or the lesser divinities with the recurrent phrase *ŋgew' jahun* i.e. "by the Sovereign will of God". God is now the great *Presence.* He is everywhere and is generally associated with the sky or the firmament—Akan, *Nyame,* the Lunar Mother-goddess or Nyankopon, the Sun; Yoruba, *'l'run,* the owner of Heaven. The Kono of Sierra Leone call Him *yataa,* 'He whom you meet everywhere'. But His *presence* is not felt directly, except in brief spells, when He is invoked by means of individual ejaculations. Creation, jural authority and Providence are attributed to Him. But the lesser spirits control the everyday life of mankind.

The West African concept of God thus provides a *Presence,* which seems to be somewhat real but only in times of crises. Operational *presence* is vested in the ancestral spirits and Nature deities, with which are associated covenantal relations with man. But covenants between man and his gods must be reflected in the relationships between man and man. Of the various covenantal relations, the blood-covenant is perhaps the most exacting. In the present context, it is the most permanent manifestation of *presence*—usually demonic. To violate a blood-

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29) cp. K. A. Busia in Daryll Forde, *op. cit.,* pp. 191-3.

covenant, it is believed, is to be doomed to certain death. Blood is life. When therefore one person eats of the blood of a partner, it is assumed that the blood continues to flow intact in the blood-stream of the eater and will rise up as a hostile life-force, from within, to destroy him if he turns traitor. In effect, then, the blood-covenant represents a relationship because of which, the *I* having first absorbed the life-blood of the *Thou* into his system is as a result in symbiosis with the *Thou*, who is with him at all times, ready to strike whenever he defaults. Conscience now becomes identified with the *I* of the individual. And yet, alas! man is still goaded on by fears of witches and various spirits. Only when we examine the Religion of the Hebrews and later of the Jews, do we meet earliest instance of God as a Covenantal *Presence*. To the Hebrew, God as the essence of Being and the foundation of all existence is closely associated with two cardinal factors, viz., Promise and Covenant. The totality of all existence, domestic, commercial and political was therefore embedded in a concept of Covenant. Yaweh transcended all tribal relations as the Prophets taught. So He was grieved when short-balances were used by mercenary Hebrew tradesmen as well as when Tyre delivered up (for destruction) the people of Edom and "did not remember the covenant of brotherhood" (Amos 8:5, 1:9). His Covenant and Promise were indeed not only with the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but even with those who were alive at the time of the Deuteronomic Writers, "Even with us, who are all of us alive this day", (Dt 5:2 f cp 29:10), they said. God is now more expressly thought of in terms of specific human analogies, derived from direct experience. So the Jews postulated the *Shekinah*. Transcendence has come close to immanence in the concept of God.

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HARVEST AND RENEWAL AT THE GRAND SHRINE OF ISE

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No Shinto shrine in Japan has a more profound connection with the religious life and history of the nation as a whole than the Grand Shrine of Ise. The Ise shrines honor deities who are ancestors and patrons of the imperial house, and hence of the nation. [1]) At the same time, just because its special role has been conducive to conservatism, Ise perpetuates many usages of marked antiquity. [2]) Thus these shrines offer

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1) This is the popular belief in Japan; however, the precise meaning of the relation of Ise to the imperial house and to the nation is not entirely clear even by orthodox Shinto reckoning. The mythology of the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* does not present the deity of the Outer Shrine as being imperial, although of course Amaterasu of the Inner Shrine is by all traditional accounting. But even here the mythology presents certain grounds for puzzlement, since the "Imperial Grandson" who founded the Empire is presented as the scion both of Amaterasu and Taka-mimusubi, the "High God," though the two are certainly not made consorts to each other. But in the historical and proto-historical sections of the *Nihonshoki*, Ise and Amaterasu are always closely identified with the Court, and at least from the time of the Emperor Temmu (r. A.D. 673-89), the Grand Shrine is primarily or exclusively patronized by the Imperial Family. Persons not of imperial or priestly rank were forbidden even to enter it until the decline of the Heian period — after which its growth in popularity as a center of mass pilgrimage only increased its national prominance. For the early and imperial history of Ise, see Noboru Kawazoe, "The Ise Shrine," *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (July-September, 1962); Takashi Tanaka, *Jingū no Sōshi to Hatten* (Ise, 1959), and Yatsuka Kiyotsura, *Kōshitsu to Jingū* (Ise, 1957).

2) The usages of Ise by and large, however, are not as truly archaic as many of local shrines, or of certain historic shrines such as Miwa or Izumo which — in particulars which must be carefully distinguished from accretions — have preserved elements of pre-Buddhist provenance within the context of that natural evolution which is made possible by relative lack of official attention. Ise, rather, suggests a crystallization of forms largely imported from the Yamato Court, and purged of Buddhism, current in the Temmu-Nara period when the Grand Shrine's imperial associations were solidified. Thus its cultus is neither genuinely indige-

a splendid opportunity to observe both archaic patterns and the effect of a historical environment upon them. In the tradition of this center one can detect a monumentalization of the whole scope of Shinto, from the most archaic concepts of kami who descend from above on trees or pillars to the institutions of modern nationalism, and now of the religion's role in a secular nation.

A pilgrim approaching the shrines of Ise would notice that all the buildings of this system, from the major edifaces down to the nesting-boxes of birds, are all built in a virtually identical style. Like ancient Japanese dwellings and granaries, they are set off the ground on posts, the roof is thatched, the building is rectangular, and the roof is supported at each end by a pillar. Ornamentation is austere, and only the

nous to Ise nor popular. Kawazoe (*op. cit.* p. 286) has suggested that the favors which began to fall upon Ise from the Imperial House with the Temmu period were related to the aid which Temmu received in securing the throne from Ise province. In any case, such documents as the *Nihonshoki* and the *Daijingū Shoza-jiki* respectively date the historical beginning of the institution of the imperial princess resident at Ise (Siagū) and the Twenty-year Rebuilding to edicts of Temmu. (This is not certain; Takashi Tanaka accepts the likelihood that a form of the Saigū was established in the reign of Temmu in *op. cit.*, p. 102; but compares several scholarly opinions which place the beginning of the Twenty year Rebuilding system from Temmu to the first year of Enryaku (782 A.D.) in *ibid.*, pp. 209-213.) However, from the time of the Taihō Code of 701 A.D. which established the Ministry of Official Shinto (Jingi-kan), the Ise shrines came under the increasingly close regulation of the Court through the Saigū, the sending of Imperial Envoys with offerings at major occasions, the appointment of Nakatomi priests (the family which also dominated Court Shinto) as Chief Priests, and such Court-authorized documents as the *Gishikichō* (804 A.D.) and *Engishiki* (927 A.D.) which outlined its administrative structure and liturgical cycle.

But within this mould Ise has remained relatively stable, and moreover certain later developments were adjusted in favor of what was believed to be the ancient imperial model by the Meiji Reforms of the Grand Shrine in the early 1870's. To illustrate the Courtly or Great Tradition character of the Grand Shrine cultus as over against the indigenous one may mention the recent study of sacred dance or kagura by Yasuji Honda, *Kagura* (Tokyo: 966). Honda establishes the Ise area as generative of one of two major categories of kagura, the type called *yudate* typified by the waving of branches by girls to sprinkle drops of water for purification. But the official dances of the Grand Shrine, from the time of the *Gishi-kichō*, have been such Court dances as the Yamato-mai (of which the Ninjō-mai is apparently a type) and the female Gosechi-mai. (See "Kōdaijingū Gishikichō," Zoku Gunshoruijū Kanseikai, *Gunshoruijū* (Tokyo, 1906), I, p. 29, and cf. "Toyuki-gū Gishikichō," *ibid.*, p. 56, for citation of such dances as these as the official kagura offered in the closing action of major rituals.)

minimal accoutrements of Shinto worship appear to be installed. Many shrines of far less spiritual weight seem to support a far more lavish cult. The wood at Ise is unpainted, save for gold tips on the roof beams of the Inner Shrine, and the concept is no more than functional. A great Japanologist of the last century wrote that Ise is "so disappointing in its simplicity and perishable nature," [3]) but modern taste has instead discovered in Ise an architecture of rare and clean power, eclipsing the gilded splendors of Nikko which ministered to Tokugawa pride.

The simplicity of style, however, is compensated by the majesty of setting. The location nor far from the Pacific and by the cold and clear Isuzu River, amidst cypress groves of wondrous and numinous beauty, is one which suggests that little could be added by man to provide a terrestial dwelling for the greatest of the kami.

This site is on a rather isolated penninsula some 225 miles below Tokyo and 50 from Nagoya, and not much further from the ancient capitals of Nara and Kyoto. The religious center is built around two major shrines. The most important, called the Inner Shrine (Naikū), is dedicated to Amaterasu, the sovereign solar deity who is ancentress of the imperial line; her shrine has as its *mitama-shiro* or representation of the divine presence the *yata kagami* ("eight-hand mirror," a term most probably indicating its width) which Amaterasu gave her grandson when he descended to earth to found the Empire. [4]) The other major

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3) Sir Ernest Satow, "The Shinto Temples of Ise," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. I, No. 2 (July, 1874), p. 121.

4) According to the *Nihonshoki*, Amaterasu was brought from Yamato, the site of the proto-historical Court, to Ise by Yamato-hime, an imperial princess, in the reign of Suinin (traditional reign dates, 29 B.C. — 70 A.D.). It appears likely that before the time of Temmu, the shrine was dedicated like most archaic shrines to the general patron of the region, here called the Ise Ōgami, the great deity of Ise, a title also appearing in the *Nihonshoki*. Whether Amaterasu is a Yamato import or an indigenous deity assimilated to the imperial pantheon with the integration of the shrine into the imperial system is a vexed point. A recent popular writer, Nobukaze Tsukushi, believes that her myth shows she was once a maritime deity typical of the eastern coast, but that she became celestial with imperial adoption in the seventh century, and at the same time came to be recognized as the deity of the Ise shrine. (Nobukaze Tsukushi, *Amaterasu no Tanjo,* Tokyo: 1965). Takashi Tanaka more generally relates the movement of the Yamato imperial deities, of which Amaterasu was principle, to Ise with the invasion of Buddhism, and a desire to keep their worship pure of the alien religion; in the process they became nationalized. ("Go-chinza no Yurai," *Ise no Jingū,* Osaka: 1961, pp. 21-22.) Probably there are senses in which both hypotheses are true.

shrine, the Outer Shrine (Gekū), is dedicated to Toyouke, the archaic Food Goddess. [5])

The Inner and Outer Shrines are approximately five miles apart, the Outer being located in the town of Yamada adjacent to Ise city. The Inner is in the countryside near Uji. The two are roughly identical in form. Each complex spreads over a large park-like area. The focus of each is a rectangular court covered with white gravel and surrounded by four fences. Several buildings are placed within the fences. Enclosed by the inner fence (the *mizugaki* or fresh-marvellous fence) is the Shōden or primary building containing the sacred object and major offerings, and two treasure houses holding other imperial presentations. To the front between the two middle fences (the inner and outer *tamagaki* — jewel, spirit, or "excellent" fences) is a wide yard for ceremonies and a partially open-sided paviljon, the Yojoden. [6]) The Yojoden is employed for certain rituals, especially in inclement weather. In the Outer Shrine, a very sacred and important building where offerings are presented, the Mikeden (Food Hall), is located within the Outer Fence (the *Itagaki* or Board Fence). [7])

Immediately beside the rectangle of the shrine buildings and their fences is another of the same size, but spread merely with white gravel save for a tiny wooden ediface in its center. This is the alternate site. Every twenty years, as we shall see, the shrine buildings are dismantled

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5) According to the *Gishikichō* ("Toyuki-gū Gishikichō," *op. cit.*, p. 37), the earliest source for this story, Toyouke was moved to Ise and the Outer Shrine established in the reign of Yūryaku (traditional reign dates, A.D. 456-479) after the sovereign had a dream in which Amaterasu, appearing to him, said she felt lonely at Ise and wanted Toyouke brought to her from Tamba. Food was to be offered first to the latter deity, a practice still followed. In fact the historical background of the duplication of the shrine is very obscure, but Takashi Tanaka affirms that Toyouke is not a "popular" agricultural deity distinct from Amaterasu, but was more likely a separate aspect of her as the Great Goddess, the food-giving aspect which she also has in the mythology ("Go-chinza no Yurai," *op. cit.*, p. 32).

6) This building is on the right. One of the few important changes in the appearence of the shrine is represented by the fact that in the Heian period a similar building was also found on the left. Called the Saiō Joden, it was for the use of the Saiō (imperial princess) and her handmaidens. (Toshio Fukuyama, "Jingū no Kenchiku," *Ise no Jingū*, Osaka: 1961, pp. 94, 99.)

7) Kawazoe believes that the Mikeden, a very austere and unassuming structure, being the only building for which the Rebuilding has always been carried out, even when circumstances prevented rebuilding of the major shrines, probably represents the oldest architecture at Ise. *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

and rebuilt with new wood in this alternate, adjacent site. The tiny wood roof covers the foundation pillar, which is preserved after the tearing-down of the former shrine on that site, until the next re-building. [8])

Outside the rectangular palisade, each of the two complexes has many auxiliary shrines and buildings. Religiously the most important of these is a shrine to the *aramitama*, the "rough spirit," or spirit in its vigorous, aggressive, active mood, of the principle goddess. At the Inner Shrine this is the Aramatsuri Shrine, at the Outer, the Taka (High) Shrine. These two are relatively small in scale, but located on higher ground than the main places of worship, which are said in contrast to be dedi-cated to the *nigimitama* or "smooth spirit" of the respective deities. After every ritual at the major shrine, an offering, or at least a genu-flection, is made toward the *aramitama* shrine.

Other major auxiliary structures of the Inner Shrine include the Imibi Yaden, "Pure Fire Hall," used for cooking offerings over a "pure fire" and with water "of the high plain of heaven" brought from the sacred well. Here offerings also are purified with the sacred sakaki [9]) branch before being taken to the shrine; storage houses for

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8) Concerning this pillar, Kenzo Tange and Noboru Kawazoe write: "A woo-den post, called the *Shin no Mihashira* ('sacred central post') stands under the middle of the floor of both the Inner Shrine and Outer Shrine main sanctuary buildings, a feature not found in any of the other sanctuaries. The holy object of the Inner Shrine, the mirror, rests directly above the post in a cylinder of crypto-meria wood on a wooden stand resembling a boat in shape.

The *Shin no Mihashira* are a secret of secrets, and although there is no way of knowing for sure, they are said to be posts of plain wood, about seven feet in length, the lower half buried in the ground and the upper standing free, not touching the floor above. Many layers of silk are reportedly wrapped around the posts, into which branches of the sakaki tree are inserted. Clay tablets are then heaped around, and the whole is protected by a wooden fence. All we can see of them are these wooden fences under the raised floors of the two main sanctuaries and in the middle of the alternate sites; in the latter they are covered by small roofs resting on top of the fences." Kenzo Tange and Noboru Kawazoe, *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1965, p. 42.

9) Branches of the sakaki or cryptomeria tree are constantly used in Shinto worship as instruments of purification and offering, and as sacramentals for ornamenting a shrine, especially at sacred times, though the Ise shrines display them tied to the outer palisade at all times. The sakaki is a broad-leafed tree which remains green the year around, hence is a symbol of rejuvenescence. Many shrines contain one growing in the yard, often marked off by a sacred rope and paper hangings. Probably the sakaki tree or *himorogi* surrounded by such a rope

rice and sake are also found. There are as well barns for the sacred horses (donated by the Emperor [10]) which are led before the shrine thrice a month, and the Kagura-den where offerings and dances, usually on behalf of private groups of worshippers, are presented by priests and *mai-hime*. [11]) There is the Saikan where priests live in a state of preparatory purity before taking part in major worship.

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was the earliest focus of Shinto worship. See Donald Holtom, "Some Notes on Japanese Tree Worship," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* Vol. XLIX, Part II (May, 1922). For the relation of sakaki to *himorogi* and to the Harvest Festival, see Kazuo Higo, "Kodai Denchō to Niiname," in *Niiname no Kenkyū* II, Tokyo: 1955, pp. 1-26.

10) Possibly this practice, like the common presentation of *uma-e* or pictures of horses in many shrines, derives from a prehistoric sacrifice, although no concrete evidence of horse sacrifice in Japan (in contrast to the mainland) is extant. Such divine horses may be seen at several other shrines, such as Itsuki-jima and Usa-Hachiman, and visitors may make them an offering of oats and vegetables for a small fee. These *shimba* or divine horses are properly interpreted as an offering *to* the deity, often by the sovereign, and hence are not of the same category as those animals which are sacred as being "messengers" *of* the kami, such as the famous deer of Kasuga shrine at Nara, or the more mythological foxes of Inari or snake of Miwa or hare of Ōkuninushi at Izumo. At Ise the divine horse is led before the main sanctuary thrice a month, and is said then to represent the Emperor. For a curious table of the names, color, and ages of all horses presented by recent Emperors to Ise, see Yatsuka Kiyotsura, *op. cit.,* pp. 36-37.

11) The *mai-hime*, the same as those shrine maidens called *miko* in most places, are girls of ages 16-19 who, wearing bright garments of red and white, assist in the shrine cultus. They are primarily dancers. Frequently, assisted by one or two priests, they present a liturgy of sacred dance and offerings in the Kagura-den sanctuary for private parties of visitors. The priests serve as musicians and read the norito or petition on behalf of the patrons, but the *mai-hime* will place the offerings on the altar and, at the conclusion of the rite, present each worshipper a bit of the offered sake to consume. *Mai-hime* also assist in preparing materials for worship and in offices, but take no part in the worship of the major sanctuaries. In this respect they are unlike the ancient Saiō princess and her handmaidens, who entered the shrine as representative of the Emperor her father, or the modern Saishu. (The Saishu is an imperial princess, presently a now-elderly daughter of the Emperor Meiji, who resides at Ise and performs liturgical functions comparable to those of the former Saiō.) All shrines of any pretensions employ *miko* in such functions. At Ise, the office replaces that of the *monoimi* or *kora*, children of both sexes who, under the supervision of priests called *monoimi no chichi* ("monoimi fathers") lived under pure conditions and prepared the sacred offerings until the Meiji reforms. The sacred importance of the representative child in early Shinto is a recurring theme, typified by the Saiō herself. The derivation of the office of *miko* may be estimated from the fact that today the term refers both to these shrine maidens and to shamanistic women not particularly connected with institutional Shinto who practice trance mediumship.

The auxiliary shrines on the immediate grounds of the Inner Shrine are the Kazahi nomi no Miya, "Wind and sun prayers Shrine," dedicated to the deity to whom annual prayers are made in the main shrine for protection from typhoon and for good weather, and the Aramatsuri shrine already mentioned. In addition, several shrines at other locations within the vicinity of Ise are considered branches of the Inner Shrine, and offer similar architecture. At a certain site, four are found in a row, one to Tsukiyomi, the moon deity, one to his "rough spirit," [12]) and (these being more recent, having been established in 867 A.D.) one each to the two primal parents, Izanami and Izanagi, of the *Kojiki-Nihonshoki* mythology. At a beautiful rustic wooded spot by a rapids, where Yamato-hime is said to have stopped and worshipped Amaterasu, is a pair of shrines called Takihara. In farming country to the southeast of Ise, at a place where Yamato-hime is said to have met the deity of the land while looking for fields for offerings to present at the Grand Shrine, is the Izawa no Miya shrine. It is famous for its popular June transplanting festival. In addition there is a shrine dedicated to Yamato-hime herself, erected in 1923.

The Outer Shrine offers about the same group of auxiliary buildings within the shrine park. Its affiliated shrines are the Taka, as stated the aramitama or "rough spirit" shrine, and a Wind deity shrine and an Earth deity shrine. It has only one affiliated shrine outside the immediate precincts, one dedicated to the lunar deity Tsukiyomi in another part of Ise city.

Finally, mention must be made of the outlying properties owned or religiously supervised by the Grand Shrine for the production of offering materials. These include the Shinden or Divine Rice-fields, a model fruit and vegetable farm, an elaborate salt works, a factory for

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12) This cultus once played an interesting role in the history of the Grand Shrine. During the Nara period, when the balance of force and role between Shinto and Buddhism was as yet undecided, a Buddhist temple was erected by the Grand Shrine in 715, and reinforced with a new image in 766. But it was moved outside the shrine precincts in 772 after an oracle from Tsukiyomi revealed that a typhoon was due to the anger of the Ise deities at the temple's presence. From then on the Ise system has been circumspect about formal syncretism with the other faith. The Tsukiyomi shrine appears to date from this episode ("Kō-daijingū Gishikichō," *op. cit.*, p. 117). See Gennichi Ōnishi, *Daijingū Shiyō*, Tokyo: 1960, pp. 92-94; and Jingū Shichō, *Kojiruien, Jingibu*, Kyoto: 1927-28, Jingi 2 (Vol. VII), pp. 1715-16.

producing the *doki* or archaic unglazed pottery used for offering ves-
sels, two affiliate weaving halls for making respectively "rough" and
"smooth" cloth for the Kami Miso (Divine Garments) festival, and a
seaside works for drying the strips of abalone presented as offerings.
All of these, except the farm which employs the latest agronomic tech-
niques, use interesting and impressive pre-industrial methods. At each
location there is a shrine, in the distinctive classic Ise style, out of which
religious rites by Grand Shrine priests are conducted in connection
with the process. [13])

II

We shall now proceed to a description of the Kanname-sai or Harvest
Festival of the Grand Shrine. This is the culminating event of the Ise
liturgical cycle, for the Shinto calendar revolves around Harvest as the
Christian calendar centers upon Easter. The Harvest first-fruits offer-
ings are presented in the two major shrines on successive nights; in
the Outer Shrine on October 15th, in the Inner on the 16th. In each
case the nocturnal offering is enacted twice; at 10 p.m. and again be-
ginning at 2 a.m. Each ceremony lasts approximately two hours. At
noon of the following the imperial offerings are presented in the same
shrine as the ceremony of the night before, and then the rite for that
shrine is completed at 5 p.m. with sacred dance (kagura). The writer
observed these rites as far as possible (for no non-participant, even
if a Shinto priest, is allowed within the inner fence) in October of 1966.

The clergy practice obstinence by residing in the Purification House
(Saikan) of the shrine in which they will officiate before the cere-
mony. [14]) During this period they will wear only pure white clothes,
eat only food prepared in the Purification House over a "pure fire"
(made by wood friction with an archaic string-and-axle device) and are
allowed no outside communication except with the Shrine Office and

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13) In the agricultural enterprises, these rites center around planting and
harvest, and will be discussed later. The special ceremonies of most of the others
take place at the beginning of production of the goods, which usually is shortly
before the Harvest Festival.

14) The length of time varies with the gravity of the function, being six days
for those who must officiate within the inner sanctuary of one of the main shrines,
three days for those who will serve in the inner sanctuary of a lesser shrine, and
two days or one day for persons who will participate without entering the imme-
diate presence of the kami. Hirotarō Sakamoto, *Jingū Saiki Gaisetsu,* Ise: 1965,
p. 192-93.

the Imperial Messengers. Nothing impure—that is, primarily, nothing pertaining to blood, sickness, decay, or death—is to reach their five senses. Apart from these rather negative precautions, however, no particular practices are followed save for purifying the body by bathing. One understands that while more serious priests may endeavor to study, there is also a deal of joviality and chatter. [15])

The Harvest Festival ceremonies proper begin at 5 p.m. on the 15th. The first observance is the very interesting Okitama or Distant-Sea-Spirit (or perhaps Starting-Spirit) Rite. At the northeast corner of the Outer Fence of the Inner Shrine is a small fane, actually just two or three small Stones, of the Deity Okitama. Nearby is a similar shrine to Miyabi no Kami (from *Miya*, "Palace" or "Shrine" and *bi*, "fire" or, from the character, "around the site"), who has sometimes been identified with Ōmiyanome, the great patroness of palace activities often mentioned in the *Engishiki* prayers. At Ise both of these deities are held to be protective kami of the shrine area whose blessing should be invoked before any major activity takes place within their domain. The name Okitama suggests that the rite may be a remnant of an ancient cultus of marine deities who came in from the sea to bless the crops. However, the two also remind one of the kind of deities found in the lists of protective deities of the Imperial Palace in the *Engishiki* and *Kogoshūi*. A prayer and offering are presented. [16])

Next, another rite with interesting primordial overtones is held in the Nakanoe, or space between the two middle fences, of the Inner Shrine. This is the Miura or divination to determine if any of the clergy

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15) An interesting transcribed conversation on the meaning of the *saikai* or purification period conducted by Professor Sokyō Ono with several Ise clergy may be found in Ono, ed., *Matsuri no Taiken to Kihan*, Vol. I, Tokyo: 1965, pp. 283-301. The participants emphasize that, in the midst of a busy clerical routine, the *saikai* is important as a period of retreat and for the symbolic and actual turning of the mind to the kami alone. Formerly the *imikotoba* (taboo words concerning pollution and Buddhism) of the *Engishiki* were observed; they are no longer enforced, but the importance of thinking only of the kami was stressed by the participants.

16) Sakamoto, pp. 80-84. Sakamoto also notes that while there is mention of a "sea-cliffs" Okitama rite in the *Kenkyū Nenjūgyōji* (a 12th century ritual), the *Gishikichō* also mentions a service of the protective kami around the shrine, that is, the local land kami, then held on the 18th of the 6th and 9th months. This is probably the antecedent of the Okitama. See *ibid.*, pp. 196-97. For details of the prayer, see Jingū Shichō, *Jingū Yōkō*, Uji-Yamada: 1929, p. 322.

are impure and hence unable to participate in the rite. The clergy
arrange themselves in two files before the inner gate. Until the Meiji
reforms of the early 1870's a *kannagi* [17]) was seated in the gate. She
said a norito or prayer, then plucked the strings of a *koto* (Japanese
zither) three times, then sang for the descent of the kami. The song,
at least an ancient as the *Kenkyū Nenjūgyōji* (12th century), consisted
of some syllables difficult of interpretation, and then these lines:
"Kami of heaven, kami of the lands, come down! Of thunderbolts also,
come down! From over the Great Bay, from under the Great Bay,
come in!" [18])

Then she read to names of each of the clergy and, with each name,
plucked the strings of the *koto*. If the sound was true, that priest was
allowed to participate, but if untrue, he was disqualified, and presumed
to have kept the purification period inadequately. [19])

However the Miura is now simplified somewhat. The priestess does
not participate, but rather an assistant priest hits the strings of the
instrument with his ritual wand (*shaku*) as he reads the lines. Each
priest bows and whistles by sucking in his breath as his name is read.
The song is not now used. It is said that it is very unlikely that a priest
would actually be disqualified. When I observed the rite, the Miura
was held in the Yojoden rather than the court-yard because of rain.
After the ceremony the clergy left the enclosure in procession, wearing
white robes, the tall black *eboshi* caps, and held above them yellow
paper umbrellas. As usual, at a place on the path marked by a stone,
they offered *kihai* (worship) toward the "Rough Spirit" Shrine with
claps and bowing.

At 10 p.m. the major ceremony of making the offerings in the
Outer Shrine begins. The pattern is approximately the same on the
two nights, but following the usual practice of Japanese scholars I will
present here the usage as it is observed in the Inner Shrine, and then
mention the one or two differences of relative significance.

On the hour, at the sound of a drum three times, the clergy emerge,
perhaps twenty-five or thirty, from the Purification House. They first

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17) A Shinto priestess; the title implies a more exalted office than of *Mai-himè* or *Miko*. There are now none at Ise.

18) Sakamoto, *op. cit.,* p. 199.

19) For a chart of the positioning of the clergy for this ceremony see Uichi Yamakawa, *Jingi Jiten*, Tokyo: 1923, p. 666.

proceed to the Pure Fire House (Imibi Yaden) to get the offerings, which have been prepared and arranged in three large palanquin boxes of white unfinished wood. The offerings are purified by waving sakaki branches over them. Then the boxes are lifted, each by two priests. Others carry torches, and lanterns are lit along the path to the Shrine. Total silence is kept, but the heavy wooden shoes resound like snare drums on the white gravel trail. [20]) Usually the procession will be led by the Saishu with a staff, but when I observed the rite she was absent owing to illness.

First they proceed to the Minie Chosa, a floorless lodge located opposite the outer gate of the Inner Shrine. Here one of the offerings, the abalone, is symbolically cooked by mixing it with salt, and all are significantly offered here first. At the back of this lodge, just behind a fire, are three black primitive-looking stones. [21]) These represent Toyouke, the Food Goddess of the Outer Shrine. Just as on ordinary days all offerings to both deities are made in the Outer Shrine Food House (Mikeden), they are now first presented here.

For this rite, three tables have been set up inside this small lodge. The clergy align themselves on either side at right angles to the tables. [22]) Here the food is arranged. Three priests advance to remove it from the boxes and set it up. The center table is for the food for the Inner Shrine main deity, Amaterasu, the others for the two Aidono or companion altars (deities) who share the Inner Shrine with her, Ame no Tachikara and Yorotsu Hata Toyo Akitsu Hime. [23]) Next three other priests advance, one to each table, and enact cutting and cooking, using a ritual sword and ritual chopsticks. Then a higher priest (Negi) advances and using the chopsticks arranges the salt on the abalone as a purifier. Others next restore the offerings to the chests.

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20) For the arrangement of the clergy in the Imibi Yaden, see Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

21) These stones, and their relation to the deity of food, remind one of the sacred hearthstones called *fi nu kang* which are part of the accoutrements of the Okinawan household cult and especially of the *noro* or shamaness. See G. H. Kerr, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*, Rutland-Tokyo: 1958, pp. 31-35; and William Lebra, *Okinawan Religion*, Honolulu: 1966, pp. 99-101.

22) See chart of positions for this rite, Sakomoto, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

23) These deities have particular associations with Amaterasu in the mythology. Ame no Tachikara opened the door of the heavenly cave for Amaterasu to emerge after her hiding. Yorotsu Hata Toyo Akitsu was the mother of Ninigi, the divine grandson of Amaterasu who descended to earth to begin the imperial line.

The Chosa lodge ceremony is done only in the Inner Shrine rite. The Outer Shrine has no Chosa building, and the offerings are prepared as usual in its ancient Mikeden. Before the Meiji reforms, the Chosa ceremony was not done in that building, but the offerings were taken to the River over a bridge used only at that time and symbolically prepared there. Here we see the idea of associating purification with the River, so deeply ingrained in the traditions of Ise. The spiritual preparation of the clergy was also formerly accomplished across the River rather than in the present Purification House. [24]

Next the procession bears the offerings up the steps to the Inner Court. They are taken past the four fences, and the clergy line up with them before the Shōden, the inner house which is the dwelling place of the great deity. This area inside the fourth fence is entered only three times a year, at the Harvest Festival and the two Tsukinami Feasts of June and December which resemble it structurally.

As the clergy advance with the offerings into the Inner Court (Naiin), Shinto music, shrill, unmelodious, uncanny, is played on reed flutes. This music is played in Shinto rites on three occasions: the presentation of offerings, the withdrawal of offerings, and for kagura or sacred dance. They make offerings only while it is sounding, as though without its support no man would dare approach the deity. With all inside, the gates of the Inner Court are closed, and the priests are no longer visible to the observer. Only two participants remain visible; two priests seat themselves on either side of the middle court outside these gates, and each lights a bonfire before him. The music continues to flow from within. The fires and strange tones in the autumn darkness evoke a strong feeling of the mysterious activity of deity within the sacred enclosure.

Inside, three low tables are set up. The food dishes are arranged in a most orderly manner on the tables, together with the sake cups on tiny clay pillars. [25] The vessels are all of the *doki* type made especially for the Grand Shrine, of unglazed pottery identical with that of Neolithic Japan and used only once. At the top of the tables is a set of chopsticks and in the center three cups each for four kinds of sake. Surrounding them are various bowls of rice and of several kinds of

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24) Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
25) See diagram of its arrangement in *ibid.*, p. 282.

fish, seaweed, vegetables, salt, and water. No flesh meat is offered.

First the sake is solemnly poured into the cups for the deities. Next as the music stops the Chief Priest recites *sotto voce*, in a nasal tone, the text of the prayer, which begins, in elegant language, "From the High Plain of Heaven, depending on the Great Imperial Goddess, we are blessed in a year of awesome wonders through the labors of the officials and people of the land under heaven with eightfold and luxurient sheaves." [26]

All worship by clapping and bowing eight times. Second and third offerings of sake are poured, each followed by eightfold clapping, and music is played. Now is the time of the divine banquet, the most sacred moment.

Next a custom is observed in which two priests go outside the Inner fence and proceed to its four corners, offering at each sake, dried balone, fish, and so forth, clapping and bowing at each four times. [27])

The clappings have been audible from where the observers are standing. Then with music the offerings are taken up, replaced in the boxes, and the party withdraws carrying them. It is now about midnight, and the evening offering is completed in the Main Shrine. The clergy now process to the "Rough Spirit" Shrine, after having obtained another box of offerings for it from the Pure Fire House. A few priests have been standing watch there all evening. A somewhat briefer ceremony of prayer and offering is enacted before the *aramitama*. Here, however, the observer can better see the full procedure.

Then, beginning at 2 a.m., the entire service in the Main Shrine and the "Rough Spirit" Shrine is repeated. Shinto always loves duplication, whether of shrines or ceremonies, particularly at Ise, and doubtless this represents something fundamental to its experience of the divine. We may recall that the same twofold (or perhaps one should say fourfold) rite is performed on consecutive nights at the two shrines.

The next major step in the Harvest Festival is the presentation of the offerings of the Emperor. These have been brought by the Imperial Envoys, the Chokushi, who had left the Palace with them five days prior. The offerings consist of various types of cloth. They are presented at noon. The offerings of food, the divine banquet, the rite

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26) Ibid., p. 282. For the rest of it see Jingū Shichō, *Jingū Yōkō*, p. 328.
27) Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84.

of the shrine from which the world is excluded, had been in the middle
of the night and very mysterious; the offerings of the sun-descended
Emperor are at high noon. 28)

At the usual drum signal the Envoys together with a procession of
clergy emerge from their purification quarters and then after purifica-
tion with water proceed toward the shrine, bearing boxes of offerings.
The clergy are dressed in white, the four Envoys in the bright-colored
robes of the ancient Court. Traditionally another purification with
sakaki branches is made at the second *torii* or archway toward the
Shrine. Then, together with the clergy, all enter the Yojoden pavilion.
This is for the Yomiai or inspection rite. The imperial offerings are
spread out on tables and inspected by the Chief Priest (Daigūji) as
another priest reads them off from a list called the Okuribun.

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28) There is a relationship between the sovereign and the Harvest Festival
which extends beyond the simple presentation of offerings through Envoys. An-
other Harvest Festival, the Niiname-sai, held a month after the Kanname-sai at
Ise, is celebrated by the Emperor at the palace shrines on behalf of the nation.
Imperial offerings are sent to Ise on this occasion also. Moreover, the accession
of a new Emperor is consecrated by the very ancient and celebrated Daijō-sai
ceremony, a variant of the Niiname-sai for this occasion. The Emperor twice
mysteriously communes with the deities in new lodges in the middle of the night.
(See Donald C. Holtom, *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies,* Tokyo: 1928.)
It may be noted that, according to the *Nihonshoki,* the Niiname was also the occa-
sion of the enthronement of Jimmu, the first earthly Emperor, at Kashiwabara.
Folklorists such as Shinobu Origuchi have stressed the importance in folklore
and mythology of the appearance of a new heir, or a new child kami, at the
Niiname. Origuchi has laid stress on the wrapping by Takamimusubi of Ninigi,
his scion who was the "imperial grandchild" and heir, in the *onfusuma,* the same
name given the blanket on the couch in the Daijō-sai lodge. Kazuo Higo, however,
feels there are certain problems connected with associating heavenly descent and
the Harvest Festival, since usually the god descends in the spring from the
mountains or from above and returns in the fall, his work done. But in any case
the god who brings prosperity and renewal is made manifest in the Harvest
Festival. The event is celebrated as the consummation of the nuptials of heaven
and earth, out of which a new child, an heir, or prosperity, is born. (See Higo,
op. cit., pp. 22-24. See also Ichirō Hori, "Mysterious Visitors from the Harvest
to the New Year," in R. Dorson, ed., *Studies in Japanese Folklore,* Bloomington,
Indiana: 1963, especially pp. 94-98.) One could speculate, following mythological
modes of thought, that the reason the major Ise deities are alone, and do not
share their shrines with consorts, is that they are earthly mothers (or in the case
of Amaterasu, a heavenly model of the earthly), and it is intended that they will
be visited for the fecundation of the land by the heavenly male, who has no visible
shrine on earth, or perhaps more precisely by the heaven-descended sovereign or
his representatives.

The participants now enter the Middle Court. The clergy take seats on mats lined up to the left; the Envoys are to the right. The Saishu should have sat at the right end of the line of clergy and taken part in the ceremony; ordinarily she supervises the inspection and hands the norito text to the Chief Priest. But as stated she was absent due to age and illness when I was present; her mat was vacant.

First the Envoys and then the Chief Priest read their respective norito or prayers. [29]) Then the imperial offerings are brought from the Yojoden, handed from one priest to another, and placed by the Chief Priest on mats at the head of the steps. The Chief Priest with assistants then enter the Inner Court to place them with the list into the Shōden. The party moves back to the Middle Court, and the gates of the Inner Court are closed.

During this rite, the inner fence, towards the Shōden, has been attractively hung with sakati tied with white linen and heads of rice grain. This grain, brought by the Envoys, was ceremonially grown by the Emperor himself in the gardens of the Palace. It is presented at Ise as a first-fruits offering.

Now additional sprigs of sakaki are placed along this fence in an ancient ceremony. A *tamagushi*, a sakaki branch with white linen tied to it, is presented by the Chief Priest to each of the four Envoys, who one by one offer it by fastening it to the fence before the inner shrine. After this, the principle Envoy presents a *tamagushi* to each of the leading clergy, who do likewise.

The *tamagushi* is a most interesting symbol. It is often held by the person who is the center of the rite, either offering oblations or prayers like the Envoys, or the spiritual focus of the rite, like the Imperial Princess (Saiō) who in the Heian period resided at Ise and took a central part in this same rite, and who held a *tamagushi*. But after being held, as though to circulate spiritual power, it is straightway given to someone. At a typical shrine ceremony, several are commonly given to the leading parishioners of the shrine by the clergy, and these parishioners then offer them on the altar at the close of the rite, solemnly, one by one. The Saiō handed hers to the *monoimi*, the sacred pure children of the shrine. The *tamagushi* seems to be a token of the

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29) Norito for this occasion are provided in the *Engishiki*. See Donald L. Philippi, *Norito: A New Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers* Tokyo: 1959, pp. 62-65, for translations.

spiritual kinship of the participants with each other and with the
kami. [30]

After the exchange of branches and their offering, all depart from
the Main Shrine and proceed to the "Rough Spirit" Shrine for a similar
presentation of offerings and another *tamagushi* rite. The third and
final major division of the Harvest Festival is then held at 5 p.m.

This is the kagura or sacred dancing held in the Yojoden. At this
hour a selected number of clergy enter that pavilion. Within, they align
themselves along the sides while other clergy who will serve as
musicians form a silent single file outside the building toward its
entry. A ranking priest (Negi) goes to the inner gate where the *tama-
gushi* branches had been placed in the previous ceremony, bows, takes
one of them, and returns with it to the Yojoden. He then solemnly
presents it to the priest who is to be dancer. Holding the *tamagushi* he
begins the kagura, which is always a long and ancient Court dance
called Ninjo-mai. The use of the *tamagushi* provides another example
of the passing of it to indicate the person who is the spiritual center
of the activity. During the dance, torches for illumination are burning
within the Yojoden, and music is played. The dances are not visible
to the observer. It is said to re-create the divine age, evoked by the
solemn offerings which called down the deities of that other time. Thus
the Harvest Festival ends.

The threefold pattern—nocturnal offering, imperial offerings at
noon, kagura—then is enacted twice on successive nights and days at
the two major shrines. The main difference is that the Minie Chosa
rite is not equivalated in the Outer Shrine. Possibly this recalls,
especially in the former practice of preparing the Inner Shrine
offerings on the island, ways in which the Inner Shrine cultus was
conducted before the association between the two became so intimate.

There is a certain amount of "follow up" over succeeding days. At
the present a folk dance festival is held on the grounds of the Inner
Shrine beginning on the last day of the Kanname-sai. Amateur groups
in traditional costume from all over Japan display their traditional
dances. A carnaval is held on the streets of Ise city. Thus the austere
ritual of the Grand Shrine is somewhat mitigated through certain of

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30) For further discussion of the *tamagushi* (or *futotamagushi*, as it is often
called at Ise) see Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-59.

those popular festivities which are, in principle, extensions of the same final phase of Shinto worship represented by kagura.

Offerings are made to the lesser shrines of the system over the next few days, the work being completed by the priests (not the Envoys, who return immediately) by the 25th. [31])

The four basic elements of Shinto worship may be remembered as purification, presentation, petition, and participation. It is obvious that these elements are well represented at the Kanname-sai. There is puri-fication of the clergy in the Purification House before the ceremony and of the elements in the Pure Fire House—not to mention the special conditions of purity under which they have been produced. The presentation of the offerings and its corollary, petition in the form of prayer or norito, is in fact accomplished three times at each of the Main Shrines. The reasons for the nocturnal duplication are, like other secrets of Ise, lost in antiquity, but the separation of the shrine offerings from the imperial offerings clearly crystallizes historical movement.

The element of participation is, in the average Shinto *matsuri* or festival, the most conspicuous feature. During the work of prayer and offering, confined to the few priests and lay dignitaries esconced in the prayer hall, rows of carnival stalls are being set up in the court-yard, and groups of wrestlers, dancers, musicians, and young men who will carry the divine presence in the *mikoshi* or palanquin will be impatiently waiting to begin activity. But at the Grand Shrine, given its dignified pace and spacious grounds, the distance between offering

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31) When the offerings are taken to the group of four shrines dedicated res-pectively to the primal parents, Izanami and Izanagi, and the "rough" and "smooth" spirits of Tsukiyomi, the moon god, two groups of priests are dispatched at the same time, one to handle ceremonies at the primal parents' shrine, the other the Tsukiyomi shrines. It is traditional that at each pair of shrines the two groups move through the ritual rapidly to see which can finish first. This does not suggest irreverence so much as the rivalry between two men's groups typical of New Year's in Japanese popular religion. For example, at the "Winter Peak" of the Yamabushi on Mt. Haguro, New Year's is essentially a rivalry between two lodges into which the members of the Yamabushi order divide themselves. It is expressed in mock debate, duplication of rituals, and finally a sledge race. (See H. Byron Earhart, "Four Ritual Periods of Haguro Shugendō in Northeastern Japan," *History of Religions*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Summer, 1965), pp. 101-04.) One is also reminded of the ancient theme of interspersing sacred time with levity and burlesque, as in the case of the "ritual clowns" of the American Indians or the Boy Bishops and "Lords of Misrule" of the Middle Ages.

and participation seems not inconsiderable. The popular elements are obviously modern and contrived; and in any case have no close intimacy with the shrine rite in either time or space; the Grand Shrine rite which does hold this function, the sacred dance, is the least visible of all to any save participating clergy. One realizes that Ise, as an institution of the Great Tradition of the Court and a sacred center for the entire nation, cannot operate on the immediate popular level. It must either turn inward to its divine life, or else remain equally mysterious and accessible to all whether local or remote, in dependence not on level of visibility but on degree of spiritual rapport. Created at the dawn of historical time in Japan to preserve the power and ethos of archaism when that world seemed already slipping away, and having become stylized but virtually immobile ever since, its inner and ritual life creates a time of almost stellar distance, which only tangentially brushes the world outside its gates.

III

The principle festivals of the annual liturgical cycle at Ise fall into three groups: those which were introduced directly from the Nara-Heian Court, often because envoys were sent from the Court on those occasions; those which are part of a somewhat more independent tradition of the Shrine such as the Kanname-sai; those which have a direct preparatory role towards the Kanname-sai. (In addition a group of modern patriotic occasions are kept.) We shall first list the most important festivals in the first two categories.

First month/first day: Saitan-sai or New Year's. The idea of a New Year's festival distinct from the spring and fall harvest festivals is a Chinese import to the Court, and its distinctive customs are either continental or borrowed from the "renewal" themes of harvest or spring. But it has been kept at Ise at least since the compilation of the *Gishikichō* of 804. [32]) It is kept with the usual offerings, presented in the Outer Shrine from 4 to 6 a.m., in the Inner from 7 to 9 a.m.

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32) One custom introduced via the Court from China and cited in the *Gishiki-chō* is the offering of byakusan, sake mixed with bits of meat and herbs, in the Sake Hall (Sakadono) at New Year's. See Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-427. Sakamoto mentions the medicinal, or rather demon-excorcising, qualities thought to be possessed by this mixture. "Kōdaijingū Gishikichō," *op. cit.*, p. 24.

First month eleventh day: Mike. There is a custom that on this day
all offerings for all shrines are presented in the Yojoden of the Inner
Shrine rather than the Mikeden of the Outer. (The daily offerings, of
the same food items as those presented at the Kanname-san, are spread
every morning and evening in the Mikeden.)

Second month/seventeenth day: Toshigoi. On this occasion the Em-
peror sends spring offerings in petition for a good harvest to the major
shrines. Imperial Envoys visit Ise with these offerings as at the Kan-
name-sai. Since it is not of the rank of the Harvest Festival, only one
series of offerings are made. The food is presented in the Outer Shrine
at 4 a.m., the imperial cloth offerings at 7 a.m.; in the Inner Shrine
the times are 11 a.m. and p.m. [33])

First month eleventh day: Mike. There is a custom than on this day
no mino matsuri or Wind and Sun Prayers. On these days prayers
are offered to placate the deities which might send destructive wind-
storms, the typhoons to which Japan is so susceptible, and to pray for
fair weather. In a typically Shinto way, the rite is distinguished more
by its offerings and ritual than its ideology or divine respondent. In-
stead of the usual sake and food, or imperial cloth goods, on this day
cloth hangings are offered on sakaki branches. In the fifth month sedge
rain-hats and raincoats are offered by the clergy reciting the prayer,
though not in the eighth. It is very interesting that in the Rebuilding
rain-hats are also offered. [34]) In connection with this, one might also
mention the Hinomi Uchindo's prayers. He is a priest who is selected
to pray daily in the Inner Shrine at this critical time for good weather
and the crops. These prayers are continued from the Tsukinami of the
sixth month to the end of the eighth. [35])

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33) In the *Gishikichō* we find that after the arrival of the Envoys at the
Toshigoi the "Mountain-facing Monoimi Fathers" (a set category) made *futo-
tamagushi*, the sakaki wands. This reminds one of the spring mountain-climbing
of popular Shinto. Then they solemnly presented the branches to the leading
priests, and a procession was formed to take the offerings to the main shines. *Loc.
cit.*, p. 25.

34) It is commonly traditional to wear *new* rain-hats (*kasa*) for the rice-
transplanting ceremony of folk religion. At Ise it is possible that we see here a
fundamental original pattern hinted at of the spring and fall rite of Ise before
the Court pattern was superimposed upon it linked by the striking rain-hat and
coat motif.

35) The *Gishikichō* again presents interesting material on the observance of this
occasion in 804 A.D. "From the first of the seventh month to the thirtieth of the

*Fifth month/ fourteenth day and tenth month/ fourteenth day: Kami
Miso no Matsuri or Divine Garments Festival.* This is another of those
festivals which is typically repeated at two distinct seasons of the year.
This interesting ceremony thus has a close connection with both the
Wind-Sun and the Harvest Festival. It is kept only in the Inner
Shrine and the affiliated "Rough Spirit" Shrine. The second date is
immediately prior to the Harvest Festival and thus a direct part of
preparation for it; the first is on the same day as the Wind-Sun
prayers. Beginning on the first day of each of these two months, cloth
for offering to Amaterasu is woven in two special halls, the Hatadono,
in a village several miles from Ise. One prepares *aratae* or rough cloth,
the other *nigitae* or fine cloth. Today the weaving takes only a few
days and is done by five or six young men from the village. The
material is brought to the Grand Shrine in a palanquin by a procession
which leaves the weaving place at midnight and arrives six or eight
hours later. 36)

*Sixth month/fifteenth and sixteenth days and twelfth month/fif-
teenth and sixteenth days: Tsukinami.* This festival follows virtually the
same external pattern as the Harvest Festival. It is hence something of
a satellite rite. Its origin and original meaning is not entirely clear. The

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eighth, the Hinomi Uchindo morning and evening (offers) prayers that bad winds
may stop, and that the farmers under heaven may produce grain in peace." The
series really begins with the Tsukinami of the middle of the sixth month when
such devotions are presented. There is also a special connection of this practice
with sericulture. "This person [the Hinomi Uchindo] is selected by divination, and
on the day of the assignment, does purification for the sins of his house, and
practices abstinence. He raises one *kin* of silk from silkworms in his own house.
At the time of evening offering on the Tsukinami a high priest [Negi] and the
Inner Shrine Uchindo say a prayer so that bad wind and rain will not blow, and
present a norito, and also various rites." (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 21, 31).

36) According to the *Gishikichō (loc. cit.*, p. 27) and the Taihō Code commen-
taries *Ryō Gige* and *Ryō Shūge* the cloth was in those days woven by eight girls
from the Weaving Guild of Mikawa (east of Ise) who after first being purified
were placed in the pure Weaving-hall to weave the divine cloth and linen, the
"bright garments called of old kami garments." The *Shūge* adds that they were
brought to the Shrine in procession, and the *Gishikichō* that at the *tamagushi*
ritual the cloth was put in the East Treasure House. Purification was held the
day before in the Watarai River. The weaving girls of the Guild thus working
just before the Harvest Festival remind one of the weaving maidens of Amaterasu
who shared her work in the New Palace before the mythological Harvest Festival.
(These references are from Eishō Miyagi, *Engishiki no Kenkyū*, I, Tokyo: 1964,
pp. 79-80.)

usual opinion is that it was once celebrated every month at full moon; this is suggested by the characters with which the word is spelled. But, judging from the sound, it might also derive from "Moon-wave" or perhaps "Harvest of the moon" (*tsuki no minori*), and there may be some significance in its association with the solstices in historical times. Two Tsukinami together with the Kanname-sai are commonly called the Thrice-yearly Festivals (*Sanji* or *Sansetsu no Matsuri*); they are the only ones involving the impressive duplicated nocturnal rites and diurnal imperial offerings at the major shrines on successive days.

The Ōbarae or Great Purification. A Great Purification is held at Ise on the last day of the month proceding a major festival and also on the last day of the sixth and twelfth months, this last incorporating the usage of the Court. It is conducted on the bank of the Isuzu River. The Chief Priest presiding, the assistants distribute sakaki branches to the clergy. The clergy then breathe on the sakaki and then throw them away into the River.

We may now turn to those festivals which prepare directly for the Kanname-sai. The *Misono* (Garden) festival is said to "begin the Harvest Festival." It is held on the first day of spring in the gardens operated by the Grand Shrine. Clergy of the shrine enter the fields to pray for the crops in anticipation of the autumn offering.

The Shinden Geshu Matsuri (Divine Fields Planting Festival) is among the most interesting of the Grand Shrine agicultural rites. The *Shinden* or Divine Fields, located at the base of a mountain, are a very ancient accoutrement of the Grand Shrine. Formerly worked by Kambe or shrine serfs, these fields grow the rice used for the offerings.

Traditionally, there have been three annual festivals held at the Divine Fields. The Kuwayama ("Spade-mountain") is held in the spring and is intimately connected with the "Mountain Entrance" and "Tree Root" rites of the Ritual Year Rebuilding. It was suspended since the middle ages but revived in 1933. Later in the spring the Ōmita or transplanting festival was held, but it is only first recorded in the middle ages and has subsequently fallen into disuse, although a well-known rice transplanting festival is held in the affiliated Izawa no Miya Divine Fields. Lastly, in the autumn is the Nukiho or harvesting, when the grain is picked and taken to the shrine granaries. [37]

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37) Jingū Shichō, *Jingū Shinden Gaiyō*, Ise: 1940, p. 8.

The clergy, in the spring rite, go into the mountain behind the fields
to a place called "Mountain Entrance." There offerings are made and
a prayer is said, with the usual clapping. A priest cuts wood with a
sacred mattock. After more prayers and offerings to "the kami of the
mountain" they return to the field. The mattock is then taken to the
fields and used to break ground for the first furrow. In this procession,
formerly even the high clergy from the Shrine wore *kazura* (leaf orna-
mentation) in sedge hats (*kasa*). Now leaves are placed on the ordinary
eboshi or priestly caps. Sakamoto cites an old poem, "The shrine
officials in the spring in the shrine fields use the heavenly plow and
wear vines from the mountain top in straw hats." [38]) After the descent,
and the first furrow, there is song and dance in the fields. The Chief
Priest and higher clergy retire for a Sacred Banquet. The place of the
festival as a spring rite is suggested by the fact that it is held about the
time of the Tashigoi; on the other hand, the former wearing of the
rain-hat reminds us that this is a distinctive garment offered at the
Wind-Sun prayers and of a few other very archaic occasions. The
customs of the Divine Fields undoubtedly belong to the earliest stratum
of Ise religion.

The autumn complement of this rite, the Grain Picking or Nukiho,
contains less of interest. The chief clergy enter the fields and after
purification, offering, and prayers, themselves take the first grain and

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38) Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 165. The *Gishikichō* presents an account of this ritual
which is remarkably reminiscent of present customs, and worth citing in full.
"[Second month.] On the first *ne* day, the first sowing of the fields which produce
the morning and evening offerings is begun. The Negi and Uchindo and so forth
lead the Mountain-facing Monoimi Child [a particular class of boy monoimi].
When they go up the Sacred Spade Mountain, they take metal human figures,
mirrors, spears, and various other articles made by the Uchindo who forges sacred
objects. First the Mountain Entrance festival is held [on entering the mountain],
then the Tree Root at Kanugi, that is, the Konomoto Matsuri. The prayers, goods,
and personnel are the same as for the Mountain Entrance Festival. The Tree Root
is first cut by the Mountain-facing Monoimi with the sacred axe, then it is cut bv
the Negi and Uchindo, being adults, then cut up with the sacred mattock. Then
the Negi, Uchindo, and so forth go down the mountain to the field of the offer-
ings wearing headpieces of branches. Now the sacred mattock is taken by the
Monoimi Father of the Sake-making Monoimi [another set category of monoimi]
and they begin cultivating the 'sword substitute' fields of the Great Kami, and as
they sow they perform songs and dances of the field, and commence in the
various Divine Fields and the fields of the farmers." ("Kōdaijingū Gishikichō,"
op. cit., p. 26.)

place it on an offering table. The workers harvest the rest, and it is taken to the storehouse of the Imibi Yaden of the Outer Shrine, and stolemnly stored with worship to be dried and prepared. Some is also put in the rice barn of the Inner Shrine. This takes place one month before the Harvest Festival. This rice will be used for the Harvest Festival and the two following Tsukinami, and is also used for brewing sake for the offerings.

Then on the last day of the month before the Harvest Festival the Festival of the Sake House (*Misakadono no Matsuri*) is held at the building of that name to consecrate the beginning of the brewing of the sake. Ten days before the Harvest Festival a similar rite of prayer and offering and purification with sakaki ise held at the Salt House (the *Mishiodono no Matsuri*) to consecrate that preparatory work.

IV

In conclusion, it remains to survey the *Shikinen Sengū* or Ritual Year Rebuilding of the Grand Shrine. Limitations of space prevent more than a summary review of this activity, but a study of Ise would be most incomplete without mention of this its consummate rite. The major buildings of the Inner and Outer Shrines are torn down and rebuilt on the alternate site adjacent to the old buildings every twenty years. This has continued since at least the Nara period save when prevented by war; the next Rebuilding will take place in 1973.

The preparations for the Rebuilding begin with the Mountain Entrance rite, the opening of the mountains for the garnering of wood for the new buildings, a ritual held in the mountains ten years before the Rebuilding Year. From that date on, logs are brought one by one from central Japan; formerly they were obtained locally. Now, after arriving in the Ise area by truck, those for the Inner Shrine are floated down the Isuzu River; those for the Outer Shrine are wheeled in on festively decorated carriages; in either case they are received with great pomp.

The most awesome rite of this type is the cutting and bearing of the great log which will become the new *shin-no-mihashira* or central pillars under the two new major shrines, and as stated the only item in it which will remain upright when that shrine is dismantled after its twenty years of service. The tree to be used is cut at midnight on a mountain

near the shrine, and borne into the shrine precincts by two priests. This
was last done in 1965, eight years before the Rebuilding. In Grand
Shrine lore this rite has something of an ominous character. It is very
secret and mysterious and nocturnal, and it is said that this pillar re-
places an ancient foundation human sacrifice. In support of this tradi-
tion, it may be noted that these two logs are carried on the left
shoulder, in the manner of a coffin, while all the others are carried on
the right. It is also said that those priests elected to bear the pillar will
die within two or three years of the ceremony.

Other preliminary rites held some time before the actual Rebuilding
are those of staking out the site, breaking the ground, and placing the
secondary pillars. Making the *mifunashiro* or box in which the divine
presence will be contained in the new shrine is also very sacred rite.
The *shin-no-mihashira* is placed just eight days before the actual
moving, after the new shrine has already been built over the site. What
is done with the old Divine Pillar is a closely guarded secret.

The time of the actual moving of the divine presence (the *yata
kagami* or mirror given by Amaterasu in the case of the Inner Shrine)
has since the Meiji Reform of 1889 been held on the second of October
in the Inner Shrine, on the fifth in the Outer. Prior of that time it was
held on the even of the Harvest Festival. The reason why it is done
first at the Inner Shrine, while all other ceremonies are held first at
the Outher, is unknown.

The ritual begins the day before with inspection and purification by
the river of the imperial offerings sent for this occasion; on the day
of the moving there is at noon a solemn ornamentation of the new
shrine with new branches and treasures.

Then, at 6 p.m., the clergy proceed formally to the old shrine and
after a rite of offering last *tamagushi* or sakaki branches to it the chief
priests enter the Shōden and pass the contents solemnly out to the
clergy awaiting in file. When the Divine Presence is carried out, one
priest makes the sound of a cock: "Kakekō" in the Inner Shrine,
"Kakerō" in the Outer. This intriguing custom, reminding one of the
cock which cried at Amaterasu's hiding and re-emergence in the myth,
immediately suggests rebirth symbolism, the dawn of a new sacred
cycle.

The head and tail of the procession to the new shrine is composed
of watchmen and lesser priests bearing offerings. These are mostly

items establishing imperial authority—swords, bows, arrows, shields, quivers. In the center of the procession is its most dramatic entry, a rectangular wall of white silk, held and carried by twenty persons. Enclosed by it walk the two Chief Priests and certain other senior priests, bearing the palanquin containing the sacred Mirror or the sacred object of the Outer Shrine. Just before it walk the Imperial Envoys; just after it the Saishu princess, pavilioned with canopies.

The procession from the old shrine to the new requires illustrations [39]) to be appreciated adequately. The long train of robed priests, their fans, banners, offerings, and crackling torches moving with the slowness of ancient ritual in the crisp autumn darkness, has deeply stirred more than one observer. There is the music of *wagon* and flute playing immemorial sacred music, and the participants clap their hands, in a mood of high and solemn joy. It is at this point around 8 p.m., and all the other shrines throughout Japan are offering worship in honor of the event.

At the new shrine, the Envoys advance and read the List as sacred music is played, and formally present the Imperial Offering of cloth and the like. The Shrine clergy do not make offerings or prayers at this point, presumably because formerly the midnight ceremonies of the Harvest Festival, their exclusive rite, would soon have begun. But next the ceremony of moving the sacred object of the "Rough Spirit" Shrine is held. The ceremonies are identical with those of the major rite, but less expansive—the silk wall contains only eight, rather than twenty, persons. For still lesser Shrines, whose moving is held on subsequent days, only four persons are employed in the silk wall.

For the historian of religion, the Grand Shrine of Ise and above all the Ritual Year Rebuilding displays how a religious institution which is, in Brandon's phrase, a "ritual perpetuation of the past" [40]) can at the same time be an effective statement of perpetual newness, of the overcoming of time and hence of the immediacy of the timeless transcendent Holy. Significantly, this rite of the defiance of temporal decay and historical change (e.g. in shrine architecture) derives from the same period as the radical injection of historical awarenes into national life.

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39) Such as that provided by the beautiful frontispice of Hirotarō Sakamoto and Naokazu Miyaji, *Jingū to Shikinen Sengū,* Tokyo: 1929.

40) S. G. F. Brandon, *Time and Mankind,* London: 1951, p. 19.

This side of things is also Shinto. If the Ise shrines preserve the past, it is not through the atmosphere of ancient and fading buildings which boast the actual wood worked by archaic hands. Rather it is through making ever new and fresh, and finally related to the living transcendent rather than the long ago, what was also new and fresh in another time also aware of the transcendent. The relation of present transcendence and archaism is subtle, but one feels it is seriously intended that one side not outweigh the other, but that a unified experience of glory in both directions be revealed by the Grand Shrine. It is intended to show that the numinous transcendent glory is not, for historical man, locked into the past as into a tunnel, but that both the glory and the past are as one in being ever wih him, and ever capable of total renewal.

MANI, MANICHAEISM,
' RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT '

BY

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Methodological problems have always played their part in the study
of the 'Religionswissenschaft'. One of these problems is formed by the
classification and the division of the different parts of the science of
religion. In the course of time scholars have used different outlines.
Moreover certain parts of the science of religion received different
names in different countries. As a rule the difference in name stands
for a different working-method. Thus we see that 'comparative reli-
gion' follows other methods than 'phenomenology of religion' and
'general history of religions'.

On the other hand one may distinguish a difference of opinion be-
tween certain disciplines of the 'Religionswissenschaft'. Sometimes we
come across controversies between e.g. the history of religions and the
phenomenology of religion.

These methodological questions cannot be answered in this short
article. The author would rather apply the various elements of the
science of religion to the study of one particular religion. The religion
in which the author is interested is Manichaeism. When one surveys
the works which have been published on Mani and Manichaeism, it is
striking to see that as a rule only one element of the 'Religionswissen-
schaft', viz. the history of religions, is engaged in the study of Mani
and his religion. The other elements of the science of religion are not
very often connected with the study of Manichaeism.

Without laying claim to digress on all matters which present them-
selves, the author wishes to indicate the points of contact between the
'Religionswissenschaft' and Manichaeism. By doing this one might dis-
cover the mutual contributions of Manichaeism and the science of reli-
gion: the different disciplines of the 'Religionswissenschaft' can clarify

the essence of Manichaeism; the study of Manichaeism can bear fruit
by using certain patterns offered by the components of the science of
religion.

It will be clear that in this article a certain outline of the disciplines
of the science of religion will be used. We shall deal with the following
elements of the science of religion: general history of religions, special
history of religions, psychology of religion, sociology of religion, and
phenomenology of religion. This outline—which is derived from the
works of C. J. Bleeker [1])—fixes the course of our article. One parti-
cular element will receive extra attention when we deal with the phe-
nomenology of religion, viz. the extinction of Manichaeism.

General history of religions

As we have seen, the general history of religions studies the results
of the contacts between religions on the historical level. This means
with relation to Manichaeism that the general history of religions has
to start its work as soon as Mani appears in public. When Mani re-
ceives the decisive revelation of his Twin-Spirit, he begins to preach.
In one of his autobiographies Mani tells that he started to speak and
to teach the things which the Twin-Spirit had taught him. This means

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1) In his book "Op zoek naar het geheim van de godsdienst" ('In search of
the secret of religion'), 2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1961, Bleeker defines the elements
of the science of religion as follows (see pp. 10-13 and 128-199):

The history of religions can be divided into two parts: general and special
history of religions. The tasks of the general history of religions are: to trace
the results of the contacts between certain religions in the course of time, and to
do preliminary work in connection with the solution of general problems. The
special history of religions deals with the description of all religions down to the
smallest detail. The sociology of religion deals with the types of religious com-
munities, the relation between individual and community, religious and non-
religious communities.

Psychology of religion describes the 'varieties of religious experience'; a num-
ber of psychological types can be distinguished; religion bases itself upon certain
functions of the human mind.

The phenomenology is divided into the following elements: logos, theōria, and
dynamica of the religious phenomena. The logos of the phenomena traces the logic
of religion by investigating the elements which define the structure of religious
data or of a complex of religious phenomena. The theōria of the phenomena
wishes to survey the essence of the religious phenomena. The dynamica of the
phenomena deals with the intricate problem of the development and the progress
of the religious phenomena.

that this moment marks the very beginning of Mani's religion in contact with other religions (M 49 II).

Moreover the general history of religions receives in this question its material from Mani's own writings. There Mani gives his opinion upon other religions. One text is very interesting, because Mani states the relation between the former religions and his own: the former religions were in one country and in one language only, Mani's religion will become manifest in every country and in every language, it will be taught in the far countries; the other religions were pure as long as their founders lived, Mani's system will remain until the end by means of its books, its adherents, and its wisdom; the former religions could not complete the work of salvation for men, Manichaeism is meant as the true door of redemption; Mani's revelation of the two principles and of the living books is better than those of the other religions (M 5794 I).

On the other hand Mani's books show that the author was acquainted with other religions and their founders. In one of his books Mani states that there is a continuous revelation of wisdom. In one period Buddha preached in India, another era saw Zarathustra in Persia, a third period heard the preaching of Jesus in the West, finally Mani himself came as the Apostle of the true God in Babylon. This enumeration shows that Mani did not despise the (founders of) other religions. He did not deny that the founders of the former religions were also sent by the King of Light. (The Book Shābuhragān).

Mani's missionary activities also put their stamp upon the contacts between Manichaeism and the other religions. A text informs us that Mani himself planned the missionary tasks of his pupils. Successively the Roman Empire, Alexandria, and the East are mentioned as the countries to which Mani sends his missionaries. Mani's pupil, Mar Ammo, meets a spirit which has to defend the frontier of his country. When this spirit receives him, the door of the whole East is opened before Mar Ammo. This means that from the very beginning Manichaeism had contacts (and most probably also conflicts) with other religions in several countries (M 2).

The data mentioned above lead to the following conclusions in the field of the general history of religions: 1. Mani himself derives his 'wisdom and knowledge' from his Twin-Spirit. This means that he announces his work as the beginning of a new religion. Thus Manichaeism

appears in the general history of religions. 2. Early Manichaeism is in-
fluenced in its attitude towards other religions by Mani's statement of
superiority. Manichaeism—in its contacts with other religions in the
course of time—pretends to be better than the other religious systems.
3. As a result of this attitude Mani's religion is based from the very
beginning upon missionary activities. The revelation which Mani re-
ceived was meant to be preached all over the world. 4. The fact that
Mani borrowed religious material from other religions should not be
stigmatized as 'syncretism'. From the very beginning Manichaeism ad-
mitted the religious value of other revelations which were also given by
the King of Light.

These four factors have marked the place of Manichaeism in the
general history of religions. They also influenced the attitude of other
religious movements towards Manichaeism. A few examples may illu-
strate this thesis. Manichaeism's claim of superiority has roused strong
opposition. Several Christian authors (e.g. Augustine and Ephraem
Syrus) tried to reduce this claim by their refutations. Time and time
again they wished to demonstrate the inferiority of Mani's religious
system. Nevertheless they could not prevent two things: their own
religion showed in certain places and in certain times Manichaean in-
fluence, on the other hand Manichaeism succeeded in converting people
to its standpoints.

Another example: Manichaeism—like its founder—turned out to be
a religion with a missionary character. This led to conflicts with the
other religions. These conflicts were strongly characterized by the Ma-
nichaean habit of adaptation. Following Mani's statement about his
forerunners as apostles of God, the Manichaeans adapted their religion
to the religious climate they met with. The Coptic Manichaica (written
in a country with relatively many Christians) contain more Christian
elements than the other Manichaean texts. We gain the same impres-
sion from the Chinese Manichaica and from the description of Mani-
chaeism by the Arabic authors. Thus the general history of religions
often shows us the history of a misunderstanding: the Manichaeans
followed the steps of their master; the other religions were annoyed by
the occurrence of their articles of faith in Manichaeism. The historian
of religion, who becomes acquainted with this situation, has to be care-
ful: on the one hand he should appraise Manichaeism at its real value

as an independent religion, on the other hand he has to notice the fact that the Manichaean attitude of adaptation has indeed led in some cases to undeniable specimina of syncretism and loss of character.

Special history of religions

Almost all studies in Manichaeism are examples of this field of the science of religion. Every handbook on the religions of the world contains a chapter on Manichaeism. Quite a number of monographs have been published about Mani and his religion. Two examples: H.-Ch. Puech, Le Manichéisme, son fondateur—sa doctrine (Paris, 1949) and G. Widengren, Mani und der Manichäismus (Stuttgart, 1961). On account of the abundance of this material we need not pay attention to this particular part of the science of religion.

Sociology of religion

The history of Mani and his religious activities contains certain points of interest with relation to the sociology of religion. First of all attention should be paid to the relation between Mani (as a religious individual) and a number of communities.

Mani's family was of course the first community in which this relation became manifest. In this family a dominating part was played by Patek, Mani's father. Two facts will undoubtedly have influenced the religio-sociological climate in Mani's youth: Patek was related to the Persian royal family, Patek left the religious community he belonged to and joined a religious sect. These two facts must have had certain sociological consequences for Patek's son, Mani.

It is very probable that Patek's relations with the Persian royal family have influenced Mani's working-methods. The texts tell us that Mani regularly tried to meet the Persian rulers. Successively Mani meets Mihršāh, king Shapur's brother, king Shapur himself, king Hormizd, Pērōz, another brother of king Shapur, and king Bahram I. Compared with the other founders of religions Mani time and time again made his contacts with the rulers of his time. Sociologically spoken we may say that Mani's descent predestined him to associate with the highest circles. This fact will in all probability have characterized Manichaeism. Mani's contacts with kings and princes gave his religion a certain cachet. It may have attracted the élite to the Manichaean religion. On the other hand there are two factors which may

have discouraged the élite: Mani has never succeeded in making his
religion an 'Established Church', Mani's doctrines about sin and dark-
ness in the world have undoubtedly found little acceptance in the circles
of the élite.

It may also be supposed that Patek's attitude towards the pheno-
menon of a religious community made a deep impression on Mani.
When the Twin-Spirit orders Mani to leave the religious community
of his father, Mani does not hesitate. When the Arabic author an-
Nadim hands down a trustworthy tradition about Mani, we see that
Mani was not in touch with a religious community between his 12th
and 24th year. Like his father Patek Mani was able to leave a religious
community. More than his father Mani succeeded in creating a new
religious community. As we shall see later, Mani's religion displays
characteristics of a sect and of a church, whereas Patek's religious com-
munity was a typical sect.

There is another remarkable element in Mani's connections with his
father. As a rule we hear that founders of religions break with their
family. Very few prophets are accepted in their own homes. Mani's
case is an exceptional one. The text M 49 II relates that Mani started
to speak and to teach to his father and the elders of his family. When
they heard this, they were filled with awe. There is even more: an-
Nadim relates that Mani's father accompanied his son on the day of
his first public appearance. This remark leads to the conclusion that
Mani's religious originality did not cause an alienation between Mani
and his father. Although there are no further data at our disposal, we
see that Mani's father did not turn away from his son. Mani's religious
activities did not lead to a break in the fundamental community of his
family.

It is not easy to produce a religio-sociological typology of Mani-
chaeism. The difficulties are caused by the fact that the Manichaean
religion spread to many countries (in which it appeared in different
shapes) and that the history of Manichaeism covers about ten centuries.
Nevertheless a few remarks concerning the religio-sociological structure
of Manichaeism can be made. First of all it can be stated that the Mani-
chaean communities as a rule did not cover a national community.
Therefore Manichaeism does not often appear in the form of a state-
religion to which a whole nation belongs. As far as we know there is
only one example of a nation which accepted Manichaeism as its main

religion: in the 8th century the ruler of the Uigurs was converted by the Manichaeans, and as result of this conversion Manichaeism was proclaimed as the religion of the Uigur state. It is, however, questionable whether the Manichaean religion has influenced all classes of the Uigur nation. [2]) In all probability only the higher and governing classes of the Uigurs were adherents of Mani's religion.

As a rule the Manichaean communities should be classified as religious groups belonging to two types of religious communities: an institute of salvation and a community of sanctification.

The best-known example of an institute of salvation as a religio-sociological type of community is the Christian church. But Manichaeism also displays a number of characteristics of this type. The Manicheans *e.g.* gathered round Mani, the Apostle of the King of Light. Mani's preaching gave rise to the appearance of an institute of salvation. This institute could dispose of "knowledge and wisdom" and of a vision concerning the future of mankind and world. Moreover Manichaeism had a hierarchical construction: leader of the Manichaean "church" (Mani himself being the first; he was succeeded by Sisinnios), teachers, and bishops etc.

On the other hand Manichaeism can be called a community of sanctification, like many other sects. For a community of sanctification is based upon the personal conviction of its members. People join such a community of their own free will. Very often they leave another religious group on account of their conversion. It will be clear that Manichaeism also belongs to this religio-sociological classification. Because Mani himself was converted by the Twin-Spirit, and as a result of this he founded his religious community. The Manichaean communities knew from the very beginning the combination of "church" and "sect". The two classes of electi and auditores contribute to this combination.

Concluding we see that Mani and his religion are in religio-sociological respect remarkable and interesting phenomena.

Psychology of religion

The study of Mani and Manichaeism in religio-psychological respect is seriously hampered by the lack of material. The data concerning Ma-

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2) See J. P. Asmussen, Xuastvānīft, Studies in Manichaeism, Copenhagen, 1965, pp. 148-149.

ni's personality are very fragmentary. The Manichaean material does not provide us with many 'personal' testimonies of piety. This means that one can only indicate a number of tendencies in Mani's life and work which bear on the religio-psychological field of study.

When we set foot on this field, we wish to refer to William James' work 'The Varieties of Religious Experience' (London-New York-Toronto, 1945). In this book James describes 'the sick soul, the divided self, and conversion'. In his description of 'the sick soul' James makes the following remarks (pp. 135-136): "Failure, then, failure! so the world stamps us at every turn. We strew it with our blunders, our misdeeds, our lost opportunities, with all the memorials of our inadequacy to our vocation ... But this is only the first stage of the world-sickness. Make the human being's sensitiveness a little greater, carry him a little farther over the misery-threshold, and the good quality of the successful moments themselves when they occur is spoiled and vitiated. All natural goods perish. Riches take wings; fame is a breath; love is a cheat; youth and health and pleasure vanish". James' lecture about the divided self contains the following passage (p. 163): "In the religion of the twice-born, on the other hand the world is a double-storied mystery ... Natural good is not simply insufficient in amount and transient, there lurks a falsity in its very being ... There are two lives, the natural and the spiritual, and we must lose the one before we can participate in the other". On pp. 238-243 James turns to the feelings which immediately fill the hour of the conversion experience: "The first one to be noted is just the sense of higher control ... The characteristics of the affective experience ... can be easily enumerated: the central one is the loss of all worry, the sense that all is ultimately well with one, the peace, the harmony, the *willingness to be*, even though the outer conditions should remain the same ... the second feature is the sense of perceiving truths not known before; the mysteries of life become lucid ... a third peculiarity of the assurance state is the objective change which the world often appears to undergo".

James' religio-psychological remarks should be connected with the data about Mani's religious experiences. These connections may show us a few tendencies in Mani's complicated religious life and work. They may also indicate the sources of later Manichaean trends of faith.

First of all we see that Mani's attitude can indeed be described as 'world-sickness'. Mani was carried so far over the 'misery-threshold'

that all natural goods perished. In one of his autobiographies (M 49 II) Mani uses a parable in order to describe his situation: "And as a wise man who may find and plough the seed of a good and fruitful tree in uncultivated ground ... and may bring him to well-worked and cultivated ground ...". The symbol of transplantation is used to illustrate the 'lost opportunities'. Mani's appraisal of man and woman as the products of the powers of Darkness, his doctrine of the two principles of Light and Darkness, and his conviction that even in the final era Darkness will exist, mark Mani as a typical representative of the 'sick soul'. Mani's religious system shows that Mani himself was deeply impressed by the power of sin, by the natural lack of freedom of man because of his ignorance, by the difficult way of salvation for the elements of Light. This means that Manichaeism rose from an utterly pessimistic and 'sick' soul. It will on the other hand be clear that this religion did not fail to attract equal-minded people. It can also be assumed that such a religious climate could only be successful in a certain time.

When we connect James' remarks about the religion of the 'twice-born' and about conversion-experiences with the data of Mani's life, we note the following facts: Mani is a good example of a 'twice-born' person. When Mani had received his religious insight, he was quite prepared to lose the natural way of life in order to participate in the spiritual life. This characteristic of a system for 'twice-born' believers was expressed by Mani's institution of the three so-called seals for the electi. These three seals were respectively the commandment to eat no meat, to drink no wine, to abstain from blood, to use no blasphemous words and expressions; the commandment to abstain from every action which could harm the elements of Light; the commandment to abstain from sexual contact and to yield the right of precreation. The execution of these tasks by the electi made these adherents of Mani typical 'twice-born' men and women. They had indeed experienced the world as 'a double-storied mystery'.

It is also interesting to see which feelings filled Mani's hour of the conversion experience. Again the text M 49 II is the source of information. The Twin-Spirit is experienced by Mani as a 'higher control', because Mani states that the Twin-Spirit taught him 'things of the gods, wisdom and knowledge, and the gathering of the souls'. For Mani the central characteristic is the 'loss of worry, the peace, and the willingness to be', because Mani states that 'the Twin-Spirit accompanies him,

keeps and protects him'. Moreover the Twin-Spirit gives Mani strength
to fight the evil powers, Āz and Ahrmēn. The second feature, *viz.* the
'sense of perceiving truths not known before,' is also present. In the
Coptic Manichaica (Kephalaia p. 15) it is stated that the Twin-Spirit
explained many mysteries to Mani: the mystery of the creation of
Adam, the mystery of the struggle between Light and Darkness etc.
The third peculiarity, *viz.* 'the change which the world appears to un-
dergo', can also be distinguished in Mani's experiences when he starts
to preach and to teach. Mani puts mankind and world in a new light
of salvation. He preaches this insight in order to show this change of
the world to other people. This short survey of Mani's experiences
after his contact with the Twin-Spirit will make it clear that—judged
by James' standards—Mani is almost an ideal model of a person with
conversion-experiences. As Mani did not hide these experiences—on
the contrary, he published them in his autobiography!—it can be ex-
pected that these passages attracted people with the same attitude.
Several Manichaean sources tell us that Mani himself converted people
in a miraculous way. The text M 47 *e.g.* informs us about the conversion
of prince Mihršāh, who saw by means of Mani's special ability 'the
Paradise of Light with all gods, deities and the immortal spirit of Life'.
This means that in all probability Manichaeism set very much value on
the phenomenon of conversion.

There are three more things which should be mentioned in this
short religio-psychological survey of Mani and his religion, *viz.* Mani's
rejection of sexuality, Mani's strong underlining of knowledge, the ten-
dency of Manichaeism to spiritualize the titles of Mani.

Although the religious use of sexuality has very often discharged
into exaggerated 'psychological' explanations, one cannot deny that
Mani's absolute rejection of sexuality should be seen in religio-psycho-
logical light. Two remarkable examples should be given: the so-called
Third Envoy (sent by the Father of Greatness in order to save the
elements of Light) rouses the sexual desire of the male and female
demons in the course of his work of redemption; on the other hand the
Manichaean electi had to banish all sexuality from their lives. Although
these two examples may seem to indicate an ambivalent attitude towards
sexuality, they represent one typical Manichaean view: when *man*
wishes to contribute to the salvation of the elements of Light in the
world, all sexual intercourse should be omitted. The combination of sin

and sexuality, darkness and sexual life, leads to the religio-psychological conclusion that Mani and his religious system could not face the problems of sexuality in a normal and positive way. This attitude results from the Manichaean doctrine of creation. As Mani attributes the creation of Adam and Eve to the demons, all aspects of the human body are overshadowed by the powers of Darkness. Of course this Manichaean doctrine characterizes Mani himself, but it also attracted people with the same attitude.

When Mani himself describes his religion as the preaching of 'wisdom and knowledge', an important decision is made in the religio-psychological field. By underlining the importance of knowledge, Mani chooses a certain part of the human existence, *viz.* the human mind, as the main seat of his religion. This fact appears as the completion of the preceding point. It also leads to the conclusion that the spirit (or: soul) is the only element of light in man. Of course this thesis is very often repeated in the Manichaean religious texts. This means that the Manichaeans—especially the Manichaean electi—despised the human body and its activities. It also leads to the conclusion that in the end Manichaeism cannot be called a religion which preaches salvation concerning the whole human existence. Only a part of the human being participates in the process of salvation. This peculiarity will of course have attracted people with a special religio-psychological structure of mind.

Finally we should mention the Manichaean tendency to spiritualize Mani's titles [3]). The Middle Iranian Manichaica contain terms as "lifegiver" and "raiser of the dead" in connection with Mani. Later the Coptic Manichaica describe Mani as "preacher of life" and "living one". In the Middle Iranian Manichaica we meet with Mani as a doctor, who heals people. Later we see that the Manichaean books describe Mani as "the great physician of the souls, who heals the diseases of sin". It is remarkable to hear that Mani himself still dealt with concrete diseases, but that his followers restricted the field of activity of their leader to the human soul. This fact inevitably leads to the religio-psychological conclusion that Mani's own attitude and preaching gave rise to a rather one-sided development in his religion.

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3) L. J. R. Ort, Mani. A religio-historical description of his personality, Leiden, 1967. See pp. 255-260.

Phenomenology of religion

Elsewhere we have dealt with the l o g o s o f t h e p h e n o-
m e n a in connection with Mani [4]), so that we should now call atten-
tion to the t h e ō r i a o f t h e p h e n o m e n a with relation to Mani
and his religion.

In order to survey the essence of religious phenomena the theōria
first of all deals with the so-called holy vision, *i.e.* the conception of
God. From Mani's religious system it is quite clear that his conception
of the holy is purely spiritual. God is called the Father of Greatness
and the King of Light. God is also characterized by his limbs: intelli-
gence, reason, thought, reflection, and will. One element of God is
underlined over and over again: God is Light. Mani describes that the
Father of Greatness even attempts to conquer the powers of darkness
at the sacrifice of some elements of Light. It can be stated that in
Mani's religion God—a personal and spiritual being—is always busy on
the salvation of himself. Even before the first human beings are created
the Father of Greatness sends out his emanations and envoys in order
to save the elements of Light belonging to his own being. The Father of
Greatness also deals with these elements when they are present in
human beings. Manichaeism tells the story of God and his exertions to
save the particles of Light. According to the character and essence of
the Father of Greatness the elements of Light are purely spiritual in
Mani's religious system. On the other hand we should note that Mani's
holy vision also makes room for the Prince of Darkness. Although the
Father of Greatness uses all his power to save the elements of Light,
it is remarkable to see that Manichaeism reckons with the existence of
the realm of darkness until the very end. When the last elements of
Light have been saved, there will be two realms left: light *and* darkness.
In trying to grasp the essence of Mani's holy vision this fact should not
be overlooked. The Father of Greatness does not want to defeat the
Prince of Darkness in order to annihilate him and his realm. The King
of Light aims at the salvation of the elements of Light—particles of
his own being—and at the final separation of the two principles of light
and darkness. This means that Mani's holy vision registers a personal
and spiritual God, but also a material and eternal opposition.

It will be clear that this holy vision leads to a holy path which should

4) Ibid. pp. 127-141.

be followed by mankind in order to reach salvation. Here the theōria of the phenomena deals with the Manichaean notions of man and world. These notions are not difficult to recognize. Moreover they are —as always—in full accordance with the holy vision.

First of all Mani's notions of man deal with the origin of mankind. We learn that the first human beings were not created by God, but by the powers of darkness as instruments to divide the elements of Light by means of procreation. Man sprung from the evil powers. This is a most decisive statement in Mani's anthropology. On the other hand we hear that the Father of Greatness sends a divine saviour to the first human beings in order to inform them about the elements of Light which can be found in their souls. These ideas about man's origin strongly mark Mani's anthropological standpoints. The human body is seen as the exponent of the powers of darkness. The human soul with its elements of Light is the only important part of man. Only by means of his soul man is related to the Father of Greatness. The body and its desires only play a negative part in Mani's opinion. Therefore it is only self-evident that the process of salvation concentrates on the human soul. In the course of years the Father of Greatness sent out many prophets to mankind in order to reveal the true structure of man. Mani is the last prophet, who preaches this revelation of "knowledge and wisdom". In order to participate in the process of salvation man should *know* that his soul is the only connection with God. When man accepts this knowledge, he will follow the strict line of conduct which Mani outlined for him. The Manichaean electi followed the holy path by abstinence in order to save the elements of Light in their souls.

Mani's conception of the cosmos and the world fits in with his anthropological ideas. Cosmos, sun, moon, stars, sea, earth, plants, trees, and animals play their part in the intricate process of salvation of the elements of Light. Their importance lasts as long as the process of salvation is in progress. This means that the world will come to an end as soon as the last particles of Light are on their way to the realm of Light. The Manichaean eschatology teaches that the world will be on fire for 1468 years and that it will finally be destroyed.

Like every religion Manichaeism also has its holy actions, religious activities of its adherents to express their faith. As a rule the cult plays an important part in a religion. Very often we see that certain religious myths give rise to special rituals. Although Mani's religion is very

rich in myths, Manichaeism—as far as it is known—has very few ritual
deeds. The data which point to sacramental rituals are very few and not
too clear. It is known that the Manichaean electi had a daily meal in
which a few ritual elements can be distinguished. It seems that the
Manichaeans had no rites of baptism. There are, however, two facts
which should be mentioned here. First of all the existence of Mani-
chaean texts in which sins are confessed indicates a cultic action of the
Manichaeans. Secondly the Manichaean custom of fasting and cele-
brating the so-called Bema-festival should be mentioned. These facts
show that the Manichaeans had certain cultic customs by means of
which they attempted to act according to their religious conviction.

Apart from the cult the Manichaeans expressed their faith by their
way of life. Especially the Manichaean electi had to obey very strict
rules. Heart, mouth and hands were subject to one aim: to suppress the
evil practices and to stimulate the elements of light. Perhaps Mani-
chaeism can be called the religion which imposed the strictest rules of
life upon its adherents. The third means of expressing one's faith can
be found in the religious reflection. Perhaps this element is the strong-
est of all in Manichaeism. At any rate Mani himself gave his religion
many myths as the result of his own religious reflection. This is no
wonder when we remember that Mani's conception of God has a
spiritual character. Therefore the holy actions of Mani and his fol-
lowers also show a strong spiritual influence. Mani preached wisdom
and knowledge. The Manichaeans transformed this knowledge into reli-
gious reflection mostly. Secondly they followed a special religious line
of conduct. Lastly the Manichaeans expressed their faith in cultic
actions.

Finally the d y n a m i c a o f t h e p h e n o m e n a will trace the
development of Mani's religion. Manichaeism owes its existence to the
appearance of its founder, Mani. The history of Manichaeism shows
that Mani's religion rapidly spread in all directions. Many countries
had Manichaean communities in spite of persecutions. The story ends,
however, with the decline and fall of Manichaeism. Naturally the ex-
tinction of the Manichaean religion is a process in itself. Many histo-
rical details are unknown to us. Therefore the dynamica of the Mani-
chaean religion will have to deal with the factors which may have in-
fluenced the historical process of extinction. In all probability a number
of these factors were already at work in the flourishing-period of Ma-

nichaeism. Moreover, a number of these factors can be derived from the preceding pages. The following factors should be enumerated:

1. The study of Manichaean material shows that its contents are not very easy to understand. Especially the Manichaean mythology with relation to the cosmos, the world, the human structure, and the process of salvation raise a number of difficulties. Of course the material was not completely new for Mani's contemporaries and compatriots, as Mani derived a lot of his material from existing religious systems. This does not, however, alter the fact that in the course of time people were not so familiar with these data. Manichaeism spread to countries where its doctrines were new. Moreover when centuries had gone by, the typical Manichaean way of solving religious problems was not so clear to men and women who could not know the religious background of Manichaeism. This means that Manichaeism required a certain intellectual ability of its converts. Therefore a factor, which may have influenced the extinction of Manichaeism, may be found in the fact that for certain social classes Mani's religious system had become too "difficult". In this way the masses became inaccessible for the Manichaean propaganda and mission.

2. As we have mentioned above, Mani came from a royal family. During his life he had frequent contacts with the rulers of his days. We have seen, that Mani often attempted to convert princes and kings. The fact, that Mani aimed at the highest classes and that he was accompanied by *e.g.* sub-king Baat, shows that Mani selected his adherents in a very critical way. Mani tried to penetrate into the best circles. This working-method will of course have influenced the mentality of the Manichaean missionaries. On the other hand the fact that such highly placed persons could belong to Manichaeism will have influenced the character of the Manichaean communities. Again this influence will have prevented certain social classes from accepting Manichaeism. It will be clear that many people regarded Manichaeism as an élite-religion. Sociologically spoken Manichaeism was too "intellectual" and too "royal" to grip the man in the street. This factor may have fostered the fall of Manichaeism in the course of time.

3. As we have seen, Manichaeism did not show a positive attitude to the world. The Manichaean doctrines did not set any value on the human body and its activities. Therefore it can be supposed that the

Manichaeans did not contribute to the cultural life of their time. More-
over the Manichaean electi had to abstain from family life and from
sexuality in particular. All these typical Manichaean standpoints sprung
of course from the doctrine of the two principles: Light and Darkness.
In all probability a number of people were attracted by this doctrine.
They found a solution to their problems in the Manichaean system.
They were happy to receive "wisdom and knowledge" about the ques-
tions which had worried them before. On the other hand, however, it
is quite understandable that the majority of people did not turn to
Manichaeism, because of its bizarre ideas. A religion, which denies the
values of the human body and of the human culture, will have to fight
hard in order to survive. In the course of time the Manichaean views
became less attractive so that the Manichaean religion could not make
good Mani's assertion about the superiority of his system. A factor
which has undoubtedly contributed to the failure of Manichaeism is
Mani's rejection of the world, the human body and sexuality.

4. It is most significant that, apart from one exception, the Mani-
chaean religion has never succeeded in gaining a dominant position in
any national community. This means that the Manichaean communities
as a rule had the form of a small sect. Manichaeism appeared as a minor-
ity which could not mark the face of a nation. However hard the Mani-
chaean missionaries tried to win a country over to their religious side,
they only succeeded in the 8th century in the country of the Uigurs.
Even then and there their success may not have been as complete as
they had intended. Thus we see that the history of Manichaeism re-
lates the story of a sect with very little broad backing in the world.
Moreover, Manichaeism belonged to the gnostic type of religion. This
means that the Manichaean religion became obsolete as soon as the
gnostic systems in general had completed their flourishing-period.

5. This brings us to the contacts between Manichaeism and the other
religions. This factor consists of three elements which should be men-
tioned here. First of all Manichaeism had a strongly missionary cha-
racter. It pretended to be better than the other religions. Of course this
attitude gave rise to strong counter-measures. The history of Mani-
chaeism contains reports of many cruel persecutions. On the other hand
adherents of other religions wrote refutations of the Manichaean doc-
trine. The confrontation of Manichaeism with other religions has not

always turned out in favour of Mani's religion. The Manichaean missionary actions evoked unexpected reactions. In this struggle Manichaeism sometimes lost the battle. Secondly we should underline the following element: Mani himself had acknowledged the religious authority of his forerunners (*e.g.* Buddha, Zarathustra, and Jesus). He had even digested their revelations in his own work. As a result of this Manichaeism showed a number of parallels to other (existing) religions. The Manichaeans even used to intensify these parallels in certain territories. Western Manichaeism displays more parallels to Christianity, Eastern Manichaeism developed more parallels to Buddhism. Therefore the Manichaeans were reproached with their so-called syncretistic system. This will undoubtedly have prevented lots of people from accepting Manichaeism. They found too little news and remained loyal to their own religion. Thirdly the history of Manichaeism also contains the confrontation with a new religion, *viz.* Islam. It seems that the Manichaean communities had the greatest difficulty in maintaining themselves. There are examples of Manichaeans living as pseudo-Moslems. Other Manichaeans will have left their religion. This means that the Manichaean communities did not only gain influence, but that they were also wiped out in certain countries. They had become victims of their own weapon, *viz.* missionary propaganda.

After having enumerated a number of factors which may have influenced the process of extinction of Manichaeism, we wish to add one more point to the dynamica of the Manichaean religious phenomena. It is remarkable to see that certain Manichaean doctrines (especially the doctrine of the two principles) have survived the death of Manichaeism. These Manichaean standpoints turned up again in the history of the Christian Church. Of course a number of doctrines were wrongly called 'Manichaean', but this does not alter the fact that Mani's influence could and can be demonstrated in religious and philosophical movements of the Middle Ages and in our days. This fact shows that, although a religion may suffer extinction, its ideas and views live on independently. Even after the disappearance of a religious organization, its doctrines do not vanish. Sometimes they appear unexpectedly in a new form, even if they are not welcome at all. The appearance of Manichaean doctrines long after the extinction of official Manichaeism also belongs to the dynamica of these religious phenomena.

THE UNFEIGNED FAITH AND AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PANTHEOLOGIA

BY

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The History of Religions as an independent discipline is of recent origin. The foundations for scientific investigation could not be properly laid until the middle of the nineteenth century for it was only then that sufficient competence in Sanskrit was attained to translate the early classical literature of India. [1] The appearance of the first volume of the *Sacred Books of the East* edited by Max Müller may indeed be regarded as the watershed between earlier pioneer work and later informed studies in Comparative Religion.

L. H. Jordan's list of 'precursors' anteceding Müller, is not impressive and serves to show the dearth of investigators in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [2] All the more reason, therefore, why two early publications, not mentioned by Jordan, should not be forgotten. Jordan's omission is pardonable, since the contributions concerned were written in Welsh, but if only for the sake of the completeness of any future historical survey, attention is called to them here. [3]

The earliest of the two 'pioneers', Charles Edwards (b. 1628), can be claimed as the author of the first ever Welsh publication to deal with a religion other than Judaism or Christianity. Students of Welsh

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1) Some familiarity with Sanskrit was acquired by a few European missionaries as early as the 16th century, but the first direct translation into English was a rendering of the Bhagavadgītā by Charles Wilkins in 1785. See A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature* (1900), p. 2. Macdonnell describes Sir William Jones (1746-94) as 'the pioneer of Sanskrit studies in the West'.

2) L. H. Jordan, *Comparative Religion its Genesis and Growth* (1905), pp. 139 ff., 505 ff.

3) Jordan's classification of investigators is ethnical, and it is reasonable to suppose that had the two works in question been in English they would have received some reference in his review of pre-nineteenth century British 'pioneers', which incidentally, mentions three whose names also appear in the *Bywgraffiadur Cymreig* viz. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, John Evans, author of *A Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World* (1795) and the orientalist Sir William Jones.

culture regard this particular work, entitled *Y Ffydd Ddiffuant (The Unfeigned Faith*) as a literary classic, 4) but the interest of this paper lies elsewhere, namely in its significance for the history of religious studies.

Educated at All Souls, and Jesus College, Oxford, in 1652/3 Charles Edwards was given the living of Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, a place already famous for its association with Dr. William Morgan and the translation of the Welsh Bible (1588). Edwards wrote an autobiography: *An Afflicted Man's Testimony concerning his Troubles* (1691), but the reliability of this work is questionable, since it bears evidence that the author was succumbing to the long strain of persecutions real and otherwise. The details of his life story, in fact, are by no means clear, but sufficient is known to provide an impression of a godly man who suffered greatly from tormentors and from the religious upheavals of his age. 5)

The first edition of *Y Ffydd Ddiffuant*, which appeared in 1667, consisted of only 90 pp., but a second enlarged edition of 240 pp. was published in 1671. Six years later, yet a third edition made its appearance, and, although it has been reproduced several times since, this is the final one from the author's own hand. 6) To some copies the author appended some other writings including his 'Hebraismorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen', a pamphlet in which Hebrew words and expressions are compared with ostensibly similar Welsh forms. 7)

In the first chapter of *Y Ffydd Ddiffuant* the author states his aim to trace the history of 'The Faith' in every age and country. The 'known countries' are classified in the four continental groups of Asia, Africa, Europe and America, and a map is provided of the Western and Eastern hemispheres. The information provided is meagre and little more is accomplished than the naming and locating of various regions with some random observations as to climate and custom. Little else could

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4) See H. Bevan, *Hanes y Ffydd yng Nghymru* (1948), introduction.

5) See further T. Richards, *Wales under the Indulgence* (1928).

6) The title is given in both Welsh and English and in that order. The full title in English reads: *The Unfeigned Faith Containing a brief Historie of the Christian Religion, and a proof of its verity and efficacie*, and the 'imprimatur' by Gilb. Ironsyde, Pro-Vice-Cancell. Oxon. is dated August 1st. 1676.

7) This questionable exercise was not novel for it is followed by John Davies, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae ... Rudimenta* (1621); *Dictionarium Duplex* (1632), see further G. J. Williams in *Y Ffydd Ddiffuant* (1936), p. xxxiii.

be achieved in a chapter of eleven pages! Some of the comments are
not without interest: India is described as a land of idolatry 'except
where the Europeans have built cities and fortresses along the east
coast'. The Chinese 'worship an idol with three heads; they also have an
image of a beautiful lady bearing on her arm a small child, born to her
when she was a virgin'.

The third edition contains material not included previously and in
addition to the account of 'The Faith' in Old Testament times and in
the history of Christianity, it also incorporates a brief chapter (XIII)
on Islām, entitled 'Ynghylch Crefydd Mahomet' ('Concerning the Reli-
gion of Mahomet') 8) and further observations on the faith and prac-
tice of Islām in another chapter on 'Llwyddiant y Twrciaid, ymdrech
Protestaniaid a Phapistiaid' ('The success of the Turks, the effort of
Protestants and Papists'). 9) The latter examines some of the reasons
for the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The Christians are accused of
making more of St. George and St. Dennis than of Jesus Himself,
whereas the Turks succeeded when they called upon Christ to assist
their cause. The chapter also offers a brief description of the Muslim
practice of prayer and fasting and a reference to the absence of images
in the Turkish 'temples'.

The author's motive for this incursion into Islām, is, as one would
expect, theological. He hoped in this way to reaffirm the excellence of
Christianity and that 'the *prodigal children* when they come to them-
selves will prefer their homely fare, after tasting the husks of the far
country.' 10)

Edwards' brief and tendentious account of the life of the Prophet
(pp. 81-83) is followed by translations of selected passages from the
first thirty five Suras of the Qurʾān. For the first ten, the location,

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8) Pp. 81-96.
9) Pp. 110 ff.
10) P. 83. Other writers of this period offer similar justifications. Thus
Alexander Ross, in the preface to *Pansebeia: or a View of all Religions in the
World* (1653) expresses the hope that 'The reading of this Book, may induce us
to commiserate the wretched condition of a great part of the world, buried as it
were, in the darkness of ignorance, and tyranny of superstition. *To bless God* for
the *light and freedom we enjoy, whereas they are no greater sinners than we...*'
cf. again the complacency in Paul Ricart, *The History of the Present State of
the Ottoman Empire* (1682): 'if (Reader) the superstition, vanity, and ill foun-
dation of the Mahometan Religion seem fabulous, as a Dream, or the fancies of
a distracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wast born a Christian, and

whether Mecca or Medina, is assigned in each instance, and only in the
case of Sura ii, wrongly linked with Mecca, is there cause to dissent.
The translations, on the whole, make identification easy but they some-
times lapse into paraphrase, and towards the end only a single verse or
even part of a verse of a whole Sura is given. The method of presenta-
tion is far from satisfactory. While observing a proper sequence and
respecting the demarcation of each Sura, verses or parts of verses
widely separated in the text, are brought together into juxtaposition in
a seemingly contiguous order.

These translations have not been made directly from the Qur'ān and
the historian will pose the question of their source, and, indeed, of all
the material on 'Mohamet' and the faith of his followers. The view
advanced by Professor G. J. Williams [11]) is that Edwards probably
derived his information from a book published in London in 1649, *viz.*:

> *The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabique into French; by the
> Sieur Du Ryer, ... and newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that
> desire to look into the Turkish vanities.*

A re-examination of the two texts by the present writer confirms
this view. The biography is certainly based on 'The Life and Death
of Mahomet' appended to Du Ryer's translation (pp. 395-401). Ed-
wards' account omits a great deal of detail and is less charitable than
the original, for whereas the latter attributes the success of the Pro-
phet's first marriage to 'presents of rare toyes' ... or to 'sorcery', Ed-
wards is content to explain it in terms of sorcery alone. Both blame the
Prophet's distorted view of Christ on the heretic Sergius, who is de-
scribed in the English account as 'a Monke and Sectarie of Nestorius'.
According to Edwards, *Alcoran* signifies 'cascliad o orchymynion'
which faithfully renders 'collection of precepts' in the introductory
'French Epistle to the Readers' in the original. Du Ryer's version
contains an interpolation as part of the text in Sura xii 31b presenting a
sparing but masterly description of the effect of Joseph's presence on the
women at the reception provided by Potiphar's wife: 'while they carved
their meat, they were so surprised, and entangled with Joseph's beauty
that they *instead of carving their meat*, cut their fingers.' The words

within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church'. At the same time one must
not lose sight of the appreciation of the loyalty and devotion of the adherents of
other faiths voiced by these same authors.

11) op. cit. p. xiii.

which I have italicized represent an interpolated explanatory comment.
Edwards faithfully follows Du Ryer's version, thus adding to the evidence of dependence. In the case of Chapter XIII of *The Unfeigned Faith*, Edwards appears to have made some use of 'A Summary of the Religion of the Turks' in Du Ryer's volume but it is equally obvious that, here, at any rate, he also had access to some other historical material. Edwards' translations have such an elegance that one would have wished he had gone beyond Sura XXXV to include further extracts from some of the earlier parts of the Qurʾān. It would seem that he, however, felt that enough had been included to illustrate the follies and misrepresentations of 'that bungler' (p. 96) the Prophet.

Our second 'pioneer' has still greater claim to inclusion among the forerunners, since his survey of 'all the religions of the world' is a much more extensive one. William Williams of Pantycelyn (1717-1791) has been described, not inaptly, as the Charles Wesley of Wales. He is best known, of course, as a profilic hymn writer, having composed 860 hymns, an impressive number of which are among the profoundest and most emotive in Welsh hymnaries of the present day. [12] Between 1744 and 1791 Williams published in all in the region of 90 books and pamphlets. Considerable attention has been given to his significant contribution to Welsh culture and especially his prominent role in the Methodist Revival. His studies in Religion, however, have been largely, and in the past, perhaps not inconveniently, ignored. [13] This is, to say the least, unfortunate since this work is not merely of antiquarian interest but provides a worthy example of perseverance in the cause of education in the face of bigotry and financial hazards.

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12) See H. A. Hodges, '*Flame in the Mountains: Aspects of Welsh Free Church Hymnody* in *Religious Studies* 3 (1) (1967), pp. 401-413. This interesting article does not mention the English hymns which Williams composed nor his own English renderings of Welsh originals. In fact he published two collections in English: *Hosannah to the Son of David; or, Hymns of Praise to God. For our glorious Redemption by Christ... and Gloria in Excelsis: or Hymns of Praise to God and the Lamb* (1772). Both collections were reprinted by D. Sedgwick, (London) in 1859. *Gloria in Excelsis* was possibly published at the request of the Countess of Huntingdon to be used in the orphanage founded by George Whitfield in America. Six of Williams' hymns are included in the Countess of Huntingdon's *A Select Collection of Hymns*. See further G. M. Roberts *Y Pêr Ganiedydd* ii. (1958) pp. 68 ff.

13) His works have been republished recently by the University of Wales Press. The first volume, edited by G. M. Roberts, appeared in 1964, and a second, edited by G. H. Hughes, in 1967. Neither includes Williams' study of religions.

The publication which concerns us is Williams'

Pantheologia: sef Hanes Holl Grefyddau'r Byd; sef y Crefydd Baganaidd, y Fahometanaidd, yr Iddewig a'r Gristnogol. [14])

This was written over a period of twenty years, and originally published in a series of seven parts. The first of these appeared in 1762 and the second a year later. The first two parts were sold at threepence per copy! Three or four years went by before the next part arrived and the delay led some to surmise, hopefully, that the author had abandoned his self-imposed project. It is clear that Williams was apprehensive concerning the financial problems of his undertaking, and at this stage invited advance subscriptions from would-be purchasers. In spite of the remonstrations of religious circles he continued with the task and the next two parts appeared in 1769 and 1772 respectively. There is some doubt as to the date of sixth, but the seventh and last section was in print by 1778 or 1779. [15]) Finally the whole collection appeared in book form in 1779 and the volume priced at the ridicuously low figure of three shillings.

The author's aim was to educate his compatriots. He deplores their ignorance concerning the beliefs and customs of the people of other lands and complains bitterly of the lack of books in the mother tongue on religious topics. This criticism is too harsh for at that time books like the *Pantheologia* were rare in any language. On the other hand he can be justified when he inveighs against exclusivism and sectrianism based on uninformed opinion, indeed, when he appeals to his readers to cast aside prejudice, particularity and bigotry, he is surprisingly modern and relevant. His work, as one would expect, is clearly apologetic and designed to strengthen the Christian faith. The very arrangement he adopts implicitly evaluates in favour of Christianity, since the religions are discussed in an ascending sequence, beginning

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14) A translation of the full title and sub-titles would read:

Pantheologia: or the History of all the Religions of the World: namely The Pagan Religion, Mahometan, Jewish, and Christianity, which consists of three branches, The Church of Rome, The Greek Church, The Protestant Church, together with various sects in each of these, to which has been added notes giving accounts of several countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; their location, products, extent, together with morality, education, customs, food, manner of dress, and the way of life of their inhabitants: extracted from the most recent, the most exact and best authors.

15) See G. M. Roberts, op. cit., pp. 221 ff.

with 'The Pagan Religion' and ending with 'The Protestant Church'!

The book is presented in the form of a dialogue between the much travelled Apodemus and the sincere and enquiring Eusebius. This arrangement of question and answer, which is somewhat reminiscent of Ross' *Pansebeia* and of other writers of that era, served the author's purpose much better than the dictionary method also in vogue at the time. [16]) There is no evidence that Williams had employed the *Pansebeia* as a source nor are there any direct references to the early eighteenth century travel books. [17]) A. Prosser, [18]) to whom I am heavily indebted for what follows, maintains that the main source for the account of 'The Pagan Religion', which takes up 176 pages of the *Pantheologia*, is Thomas Salmon, *Modern History*: or *The Present State of All Nations* i-iii, 3rd. edit. (1744). A comparison of the two leaves no doubt that Prosser's conclusion is perfectly sound.

When Williams states in his preface that he has consulted the best authors on 'The Pagan Religion' it was in fact Salmon who had done so. [19]) Prosser also finds some evidence that Williams had employed another work by Salmon namely *A New Geographical and Historical Grammar*, but the bulk of the first section of the *Pantheologia* comes from *Modern History*. He was not entirely dependent on these two

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16) e.g. Daniel Defoe, *A Dictionary of All Religions, Ancient and Modern* (1704); Thomas Broughton, *Historical Dictionary of all Religions* 2 folio vols. (1742).

17) Such as John Harris, *Navigantium atque Itineratium Bibliotheca. Or A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels. Now carefully revised, with Large Additions* ... 2 vols. Fo. edit. J. Campbell (1744-8); A. and J. Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704) added to in 1747 by the publisher T. Osborne; and T. Astley's encyclopaedic, *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* ... (1745-8). The earliest accounts of religions depended on the reports of travellers and sailors. Works like Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600) and Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) were mines of information. Purchas in fact included in his first volume a republication of Edward Berewood, *Enquiries touching the Diversities of Languages and Religions through the chief parts of the World* (1614) probably the earliest work of its kind in English and described, by Jordan, as certainly for its day 'a most promising compend', (op. cit., p. 505).

18) *Astudiaeth Feirniadol o rai o weithiau William Williams o Bantycelyn* (M. A. (Wales) thesis 1954, unpublished); 'Diddordebau Lleyg Williams Pantycelyn' in *Llên Cymru*, iii (1955), p. 201-214.

19) Among the works so consulted were Richard Hakluyt, op. cit.; Louis Le Comte, *Memoirs and observations made in a late journey through the Empire of*

sources, however, for reference is made to an authority not mentioned by Salmon, namely C. Mather, and the relevant book is *The Life and Death of the Renown'd Mr. John Eliot, who was the First Preacher of the Gospel to the Indians in America* 2nd. edit. (1691). In addition, as Prosser discovers, a few pages in the section dealing with the religion of India proper have no counterpart in Salmon's History, and the author, therefore, must have had access to yet another source when he writes of 'the Bramins, and their law book, the Bedam'.

A brief account of Zoroastrianism is included and the prophet is described as 'the greatest impostor ever apart from Mahomet'! The twenty-five men in Ezekiel's vision 'with their backs to the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east, worshipping the sun toward the east' (Ezek. viii. 16) are said to be apostates who had forsaken the true religion for Magianism. The source for the description of Zoroastrianism and the Magi is Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament corrected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations from the Declension of the Kingdom of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ.* [20])

In the presentation of Islām it would be reasonable to expect some reference to the earlier work of Charles Edwards but this omission is not in fact surprising since Williams was much more conversant with works in English than with the literature in his own tongue. [21]) His source for Islām is *Four Treatises Concerning the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Mahometans. Translated by H. Reland To which is prefix'd The Life and Actions of Mahomet, extracted from Mahometan Authors* (1712), especially the preface, Book I, and to a lesser extent Book III. Here as in his use of Salmon's *Modern History* his method is to translate whole passages which are then expertly woven into the dialogue. The main themes are accompanied by explanatory footnotes which mainly communicate geographical data. Some comparative exercise is introduced into the dialogue and elicited by the remarks of the enquirer Eusebius. The translations are mostly literal

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China, and Published in several letters (1697); P. Du Halde, *The General History of China* (1736) and many others besides.

20) The first edition of two volumes appeared in 1716-18 and the eleventh edition in four volumes in 1749.

21) On the other hand Hymn 37 in *Gloria in Excelsis* speaks of 'the wings of faith unfeigned', and this perhaps may be an echo of the title *The Unfeigned Faith*, but the obvious source is scriptural (2 Tim. i.5).

but sometimes one comes across an interpolation [22]) or the occasional additional clause. To give one example of the latter: The English version reads 'Three of the most potent Empires at this Day on the face of the Earth, embrace the *Mahometan* Faith; I mean, the Empire of *Turkey*, the Empire of Persia, and the Empire of the *Mogul* in *India*. [23]) All this is faithfully rendered but Williams adds: 'not to mention Egypt which is under Turkish rule and by and large Mahometan'.

Williams' understanding of Islām was not of the profoundest order and he is obviously over reliant on his selected source. Had he only a cursory knowledge of this religion he would hardly render 'Sunna' as 'the book Sunnah'. He is notoriously careless in the use of proper names and the *Pantheologia* is no exception. [24])

Turning from the section on 'The Pagan Religion' to the accounts of the religions of the Old Testament, the Jews and Christianity, the author shows that he is here on more familiar ground, and indeed, a wider range of sources were available to him. Yet even here he follows one or two authorities much too slavishly.

For his account of the Jews he makes use of Prideaux's work already mentioned and the synopsis provided by I. Watts. [25]) Josephus [26]) is also found useful but most of the chapter seems to be indebted to yet another authority. For his chapter on the Roman Church he draws upon S. Clarke, *A General Martyrologie* . . . (1651), and for the description of the beliefs and practices of the Greek Church his source is P. Ricart, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches.* This section is supplemented by some observations on Russia based

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22) cf. *Pantheologia* p. 139. where Williams pauses in his translations to add a parenthetical explanation of the term 'magick' and p. 261, where the term 'hieroglyphics' is explained. For the latter Williams may well have turned to N. Bailey, *A Universal Etymological Dictionary* since a copy of the 7th. edit. (1735), inscribed by him, is included in the Trefecca Collection.

23) Reland, loc. cit., p. 78.

24) e.g. where Reland has 'Abutaleb' (p. 31), this is rendered 'Abutelah', and Reland's 'Ibram' (p. 128) — which is meant to signify the *iḥram* — becomes 'Imbram'.

25) I. Watts, *A Short view of the Whole Scripture History: with A continuation of the Jewish Affairs from the Old Testament, till the Time of Christ, and An Account of the Chief Prophecies that relate to him. Represented in a way of Question and Answer (1723).*

26) *The Works of Flavius Josephus.* Translated into English by Sir Roger L'Estrange (1702).

on J. T. Phillips, *The Russian Cathechism, Compos'd and Published by order of the Czar: To which is annex'd a Short Account of the Church-Government and Ceremonies of the Moscovites* 2nd edit. (1725).

The treatise does not, generally, indicate the authors and publications which are employed but the preface does mention several writers in connection with the account of the Christian Church. The names given are 'Clark, Fox, Miller and Bonnet.' [27]) One would expect Williams, like Charles Edwards, his 'forerunner', to have *The Book of Martyrs* at his elbow, and in fact two folio volumes of the 9th edition (1684) with his name inscribed in them are included in the Trefecca Collection. His main standby, however, in this part of the *Pantheologia*, is S. Clarke, *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical historie contained in the Lives of the Fathers, and other learned Men, and Famous Divines* (1650).

In conclusion we may state the *Pantheologia* has little, if any, originality as to content. In deed a modern appraisal might accuse the author of plagiarism. This, however, would be to lose sight of the fact that he deployed his sources in a manner quite in keeping with eighteenth century practice, and plagiarism against this background becomes a meaningless anachronism. [28]) Williams of Pantycelyn certainly deserves a place among the early pioneers of Comparative Religion, while his perseverance and determination to educate his readers, in spite of bigoted antagonism, is still an inspiring example. Those who love his hymns will find in them new nuances and greater breadth of vision when they discover his world-wide horizon in the *Pantheologia*. Hymn 37 in *Gloria in Excelsis* ('O'er those gloomy hills of darkness') is perhaps the best example, particularly the third verse:

> Kingdoms wide that sit in darkness,
> Let them have the glorious light,
> And from Eastern coast to Western
> May the morning chase the night,
>   And Redemption
> Freely purchas'd, win the day.

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27) Prosser (Thesis, p. 57) suggests that this should read Burnet, since some sentences in the *Pantheologia* echo the words of G. Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* (1679, 1681, 1715).

It may be, however, as he further suggests, that Williams was relying on a later writer who had used Burnet's work.

28) Saunders Lewis in 'Y Bardd Cwsg' in *Y Llenor* II (1923).

GUILT AND RITES OF PURIFICATION RELATED TO THE FALL OF JERUSALEM IN 587 B.C.[1]

BY

WALTER HARRELSON

When the Babylonian armies destroyed the city of Jerusalem in 587 or 586 B.C., on the ninth day of the month Ab, the Israelite community faced a disaster more overwhelming than any faced before and probably since. The irony of Jerusalem's fall at that particular time has been noted frequently. Only thirty five years earlier the city had been the center for one of the most thoroughgoing reforms of religious life and thought known in Israelite or Jewish history. Josiah, supported by influential citizens of the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem, and prompted to action by the discovery of a manuscript containing the program for a religious reform, had brought sobriety and order to Israelite worship, had reformed political and economic affairs, and had begun the process of reclaiming the territory of the kingdom lost long before to the Assyrians.

Preparation for this ironic reversal of Israelite life had come already in 609 B.C. when Josiah, at the prime of life, had fallen to the Egyptians at Megiddo. Jeremiah and Ezekiel had warned of Judah's impending fate, as had the prophet Habakkuk. But who could really believe that the Lord would bring the sacred city to such an end as this? God's own people, chosen to be a blessing to all the nations, warned, punished, restored through centuries and the better prepared to fulfill its destiny, now saw the complete collapse of all its hopes and dreams.

How did the community react to the fall of Jerusalem in 587? Various reactions are discernible. Eighty worshipers from North Israel set the pattern for many, we may be sure, when they made their way toward the ruins of the once proud city, bearing cereal offerings and incense to sacrifice at the sanctuary (Jer. 41). These pilgrims from the north came with beards cut off, clothing torn, and bodies gashed.

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1) Paper read at the XIth Congress of the I.A.H.R. at Claremont, Sept. 1965.

From Samaria, Shechem and Shiloh they came, following a pilgrim route long established, perhaps terminating in earlier years at Jeroboam's temple in Bethel. The pilgrims did not reach their destination. They were slain, most of them, by a certain Ishamael who lured them aside with protestations of grief and an apparent intention of joining them in their march. We do not know, therefore, what ritual acts might have accompanied their offering of sacrifices, or what words they would have used to express their grief or their guilt.

Other biblical evidence helps to fill in the picture. The Book of Lamentations contains prayers suitable for utterance on anniversaries of the 9th of Ab, and probably so uttered. Later Jewish references specify prayer and lamentation on that day. No ritual of purification has been preserved, although the ritual for the Day of Atonement may well have been influenced by practices on the 9th of Ab. Ezra's re-institution of the Feast of Tabernacles (Nehemiah 8-9) makes no specific reference to Jerusalem's fall, perhaps because the temple had been rebuilt a century earlier, but his prayer on the occasion amply reveals Israel's way of accounting for Jerusalem's fall.

Why did God destroy Jerusalem and its sacred temple? The various sources agree: because Israel had broken the covenant between herself and Yahweh, had despised the Torah, had turned to the worship of other gods — who were no gods at all. No enemy king had brought Jerusalem and its temple to ruin; Yahweh had done so, through the agency of Nebuchadnezzar. Marduk, high god of Babylonia, had had nothing to do with the matter.

How could atonement be made to Yaweh by Israel for her sins? In two ways: 1) through ritual acts accompanied by devotion to Yaweh, performed at the site of the ruined temple; and 2) through acts of repentance in which the community accepted upon itself the full consequences of its sin against the God of the covenant. While the great altar of sacrifice probably lay unused for blood sacrifices during the period from 587 to the reconsecration of the altar in the days of Shealtiel (about 530 B.C.?), cereal offerings and the offering of incense almost certainly continued at the ruins of the temple.

The prophets, priests, and poets of Israel provided the basis for atonement. It is remarkable just how much the community's various groups were preoccupied with the fall of the city and with efforts to lead the community to learn the proper lesson from its fall. The literary

activity between the time of the temple's fall and its restoration is little short of incredible. It is well acknowledged that much of the Torah (Pentateuch) took shape in the community of Jewish exiles in Babylonia. The Deuteronomistic Historian, probably writing in Judah after 587, produced a vast panorama of Israel's history, from the time of Moses until the period of Jehoiachin's release from strict captivity in Babylon. The author of the poetry in the Book of Job probably also wrote from Judah after Jerusalem's fall. The prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Joel, Jonah, and II Isaiah also were active, each of them dealing with the meaning of the city's fall. The Psalms of Israel were collected, probably in both Babylonia and Judah, during the period. Additions were made to the prophetic collections, especially those of Isaiah and Micah, bringing the story of the faith up to date to include the import of Jerusalem's fall.

Two things stand out in this vast body of literature. Yahweh himself destroyed his own temple at the agency of Nebuchadnezzar, and he did so precisely because his people had grievously misinterpreted his covenant with them. Jerusalem's fate, then, was part and parcel of the mysterious plan and purpose of Yahweh, a part of the means by which Yahweh was bringing blessing to all the families of the earth. The event was deeply tragic, but it did not represent any decision on Yahweh's part to reverse his promises made to his people.

The other thing that stands out is corrolary of the first point. Yahweh did not depend upon the existence of the temple to consummate his purposes. He would restore Zion, the holy city. It would again become the center of the earth. The nations would bring their treasures and their tributes to Yahweh there. But no longer was the temple the necessary center for Yahweh's fulfillment of his purpose. The real purification necessary to continue Israel's life was a purification of the heart, of the social order, of the communal existence of Israel God's people.

When the temple was rebuilt, at the prodding of Haggai and Zechariah, it clearly did not have its former glory or its former place in Israel's affections. Already the way had been prepared for the existence of a moving center, a center spatially created by the presence of the divine Torah and the faithful gathered around it. The new Zion came more and more to be an eschatological reality, not at all identical with the city and its temple.

Thus it was possible for Judaism to survive the fall of the temple in A.D. 70 to the Romans. Thus also it was possible for the author of the Gospel of John to see that worship of God was possible in any place where the faithful gathered, and for the apostle Paul to see the people of God as the temple of the Lord.

In Jewish prayers and liturgies the 9th of Ab continued to sound the knell of a faithless people of God. What then happened could happen again. But it was possible for this ritual of mourning over Jerusalem, still celebrated when possible, to gather to itself the individual and communal laments of the whole people of Israel, and its individual members. Jerusalem and its sacred temple were not sacrosanct. The holy God would have no idols, no refuges for his people other than himself. Lament for Jerusalem that is fallen. Watch eagerly for the Jerusalem that is to be. But in the meantime, worship the God of the whole earth who will have no rivals, brook no efforts to coerce blessing, provide no sure and certain means for ritual expiation or assurance of pardon.

Israel and the Church were forever forced to live in anxiety before God, without any ultimate security save that born of radical trust in the mystery of God's presence and his intention to bring health to mankind. From that terrible day in 587 B.C. Israel was unable to do other than put its firm and full trust in Yahweh and in him alone.

SUFFERING IN ZOROASTRIANISM AND ITS WAY OUT

BY

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There is suffering, pain, death in the world. This is a fact that cannot be denied, but that troubles the human mind, which is not ready to accept such suffering, nor even to find room for it in the conception he has of the "Divine" and of the world. Suffering—which is evil—is and shall continue to be an incongruity, which is in contrast with the perfection of the "Divinity" and with his power of ruling the universe. God, the *Summum Bonum* (the Supreme Good), can by no means be called responsible for the suffering experienced in our daily life, neither could it be limited in its absolute Power by any other force acting in contrast with it. The problem is vital, and its solution essential, because man cannot stand a challenge which remains without an answer, nor can he suffer pain without an adequate explanation. The question, although acutely felt at all times and in all traditions, is especially alive in our days and it is one of the problems most passionately discussed nowadays. [1] What did the ancients think of it? What was their solution in their various traditions? This is the anguished question that modern man asks of his predecessors, trying to solve for himself—not only intellectually, but on the pratical side of life—the eternal challenge into which suffering compels him, today as never before.

Various human and religious traditions, although in many different forms, seem to agree in charging man with the responsability of his own suffering and of the suffering of the world. He has sinned, some say, and now he must bear the consequences of his act until expiation or redemption should be accomplished; it is his own *psyché* which ima-

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[1] Cf. for instance the theme: "Il mito della pena" (the myth of pain) discussed in a Seminar in the University of Rome in January 1967, in "Archivio di Filosofia", Roma, 1967. Cf. etiam the interesting articles on the conception of sin in Christianity, in "Herder Correspondence", New York, (May), 1967.

gines suffering, say others, and therefore he will continue to suffer until
he realizes that pain does not really exist and that it is only a fruit of
his own imagination. 2) In both cases man tries to overcome the scandal
of evil by netting it in the negative and then by denying it the right of
a positive "existence".

But on both sides the problem remains suspended. After all, pain is
too strong a force and it appears to be so strictly woven into the life
of the universe that it cannot be oversimplified by assigning it to a
human act, even if sinful, or based on ignorance. 3) In the light of a
practical experience, it seems to have a consistence which cannot easily
be denied. It is, and remains a scandal that cannot disappear and that
needs to be taken into consideration. Contrary to many other tradi-
tions, Zoroastrianism accepts and meets it, finding for it a place in its
own cosmology. Far for being simply the negative result of an act, for
such a religion, Evil has its own positive value and has a proper per-
sonality. He, known as a Spirit called Angra Mainyu and later on Ahri-
man, is a Reality which is deeply rooted in the cosmic order itself. Al-
though, in effect, human beings rejoice in a special position in the
economy of salvation and in the cosmic dynamism, 4) nevertheless, for
the Parsis, man cannot assume on himself the paternity of such a great
and strong power which is Evil (and suffering derived from it). First
of all, every paternity is God's exclusive attribute, so that man can
never claim to partake of it, not even in a negative sense; 5) then, in
the reality man seems rather to be overwhelmed by that power, there-
fore it would be more natural that such Evil should dominate him in-
stead of depending on him.

But, if it is so, if Evil claims to have a reality in itself, many ques-
tions arise necessarily in respect of its relationship with what generally
is called God. In effect, any deep and comprehensive concept of God-
head, or of what man wants to point out by such a word without plural,

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2) Cf. the various articles on *Suffering and its way out,* in occasion of the
symposium of History of Religions, which took place in Jabalpur, in February
1967, in "The India Cultures Quarterly", Jabalpur (1967), special issue.

3) With this we want to make clear that such a human act does not claim by
any means to be a creative one, but on the contrary, the negative one based on a
sinful or ignorant attitude.

4) Cf. among many J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Zoroastre, Etude critique avec une
traduction commentée de Gâtha,* Paris, 1948, p. 152 s.

5) Cf. *Matth.,* XXIII, 9; *Eph.,* III, 14.

points but towards Unity. The presence of Evil, therefore, remains a
puzzle for Iranian theologians of all ages, who cannot find a way out
to conciliate the dualistic vision of Reality—imposed by the existence
of Evil as a person—with the conception of the limitless, powerful and
universal Godhead who claims to be alone.

In the Gâthâ, there is still a certain equilibrium; Ahura Mazdâ, in
Zarathustra's thought, is mainly the Supreme Lord of everything, the
pure, eternal, omniscient and powerful Creator of the worlds, out of
whom everything proceeds, depends and is ruled. [6]) But it seems that,
in the mind of the Prophet, his absolute Goodness is not yet so em-
phasied that in him cannot be found a place for an origin of Evil. He
is still beyond the two contrastant Forces in Nature, Good and Evil,
and is still conceived as the Father of Light as well as of Darkness, [7])
as the only Source of the whole Universe including also its negative as-
pects. Thus, the dualism, latent in the Iranian mind which Zarathustra
inherited by his own tradition, [8]) is not ignored but is relegated in the
existential level. Evil, belonging to the cosmic dynamism as a person,
as a concrete power rules the universe with the same energy as Good,
bringing violent destruction there where the divine power brings forth
creation, originally a good and perfect one, and contributing to give to
the actual world the shape which falls under our experience. Neverthe-
less God remains beyond this destructive power, which cannot over-
pass the level of existence itself. The true adversary of Evil must be
found on his own level and this is not God as such but his Holy Spirit,
his ipostatization, through which the first divine creative *élan* is actua-
lized, maintained and concretized. [9]) He is the acting power of the
Lord, and he is so strictly dependant on Him that later on he shall be
identified with him again. In the Gâthâ he is introduced as a mediator
between the Creator and the creation and it seems to respond to the
"necessity of finding a place, in a monotheistic conception, to a dy-
namic and ethically active solution of evil's problem". [10]) The two
Spirits, belonging to the same level, struggle with one another since the

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6) Cf. J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, op. cit., *passim*; R. C. ZAEHNER, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London, 1961, p. 63 sq.
7) Cf. *Yasna*, XXX, 5.
8) Cf. G. WIDENGREN, *Die Religion des Irans*, Stuttgart, 1964.
9) Cf. A. PAGLIARO, *L'idealismo gâthico*, in S.M.S.R., Roma, 1961, p. 7.
10) A. PAGLIARO, l.c.

beginning; nothing of theirs is in common and never will they reach a point of agreement. The fight in which they are engaged is a mortal one and it can stop only by the death of one of the two adversaries, namely the evil one by the grace and the final intervention of the Lord. The distances between the two are well established when "at the beginning of existence, the Holier spoke to him who is Evil: 'neither our thoughts, nor our teachings, nor our wills, nor our words, nor our deeds, nor our convictions, nor yet our souls agree". [11])

Nevertheless, elsewhere both the spirits are said to be twins, as to indicate by this their common origin from a Principle that overcomes them in a broad and cosmic vision. "In the beginning the two Spirits, who are the well-endowed (?) twins were known as the one good and the other evil in thought, word, and deed. Between them the wise chose the good, not so the fools. And when the two Spirits met, they established in the beginning life and death, that in the end the evil should meet with the worst existence but the just with the Best Mind". [12]) They are twins and they strongly oppose one another, but the fact itself of their meeting is cause of the actualization of life and death, that is to say of creation, because after all, creation is but what runs between these two extreme poles: life and death.

But, how can the Supreme Lord be responsible for having produced a Being fully contrary to his own Spirit and how can his creation be born with the cooperation of such a negative principle? The problem seems to be of considerable gravity. Nevertheless such a contradiction in the Gâtha is still removed—although the early Zoroastrian solution will be rejected by the following tradition—because actually Angra Mainyu is not what he is by nature, but by virtue of a free choice: "he chose to do the worst things". [13]) "He chooses evil of his own accord, and once he has chosen, his choice is irrevocable. He *becomes* the Destructive Spirit who brings death into the world". [14]) Thus, God has been saved, once again, of this tremendous responsability of having given birth to a principle which he hates deeply and which is absolutely contrary to a certain vision of his own Essence. That is why, when such

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11) *Yasna,* XLV, 2 (translated by R. C. ZAEHNER, *At Sundry Times,* London, 1958, p. 141).

12) *Yasna,* XXX, 3 sq. (translated by R. C. ZAEHNER, op cit., p. 141).

13) *Yasna,* XXX, 5 (transl. R. C. ZAEHNER, l.c.).

14) R. C. ZAEHNER, op. cit., p. 142. The underline is mine.

a vision of the Nature of God will prevail, this beautiful intuition of the Prophet will no longer be accepted. In Zarathustra's mind, in fact, the dualism implicit in the concrete presence of an evil force working in universe, is overcome by the conception of free will, which rules all creation, Zoroastrianism being the religion of free will *par excellence.* [15]) The free choice between Asha—the Truth—and Druj—le Lie— is the moral force which introduces Good and Evil in the cosmic frame. The difference with the strictly monistic doctrines lies in that, Evil here has a definite existence, instead of remaining simply the product of such a free act, without assuming a personality.

In this great choice, which involves the whole creation, man too is called upon to partake. His position is a unique one as the determining cause of the final Victory of Good. Far from being the introducer of Evil and pain into the world by his act—as Christian tradition suggests and, to some extent, even the Hindu and Buddhist ones, *mutatis mutandis,* of course [16])—man is the principal agent of Good in the cosmic fight, and his existence itself is conceived as a help for the final triumph of Asha. If it happens to see that in practice the most part of humanity is acting as follower of Druj, this is not due to his "natural" inclination, but rather it is due to the bad results on him of the influence and of the power of Angra Mainyu. Not only the later Zoroastrianism has more and more emphasized it, but also in the early stage of the Prophet preaching the man's position in the creation is especially determined by the marvellous and engaging charge of removing and destroying Evil from the world. He is the principal actor in the creation's struggle towards its renewal, towards the formation of a new heaven and a new earth, [17]) free from pain and corruption, where the Devil and his followers, defeated for ever, will not find room any more.

But this essentially monotheistic intuition of Zarathustra, although in

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15) Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, op. cit., p. 142.

16) Certainly it looks a bit strange to speak of "introduction" and of "sin" in these two traditions, nevertheless we fell ourselves authorised to do it, in a certain extent, but under condition that the words can be rightly understood in the frame of both of them.

17) Cf. *Yasna*, XXX, 9; XXXIV, 6 & 15; XLV, 1; etc. where it is told about the renewed existence and man's contribution in building it. The same conception will be reassumed by Christian tradition in its dogma of the resurrection of the flesh; cf. *Rom.*, VIII, 19 sq.; II *Cor.*, V, 17; *Rev.*, XXI, 1 sqq.; et etiam *Is.*, LXV, 17; LXVI, 22; etc.

the traditional ethical dualistic frame, leaves the door open towards the most radical dualism of the following tradition. "Zoroaster recognized, as few have done before or after, that there is only one true God, whose will is Righteousness, whose spirit is the Holy Spirit, and whose mind is the Good Mind" [18]). The mediaeval theology stretches even more such a tendency of emphasizing the good aspect of the Godhead. It is inclined to indentify more and more Ahura Mazdâ with his luminous aspect; his name—now Ohrmazd—becomes synonimous of Light, and Goodness becomes his peculiar and principal character, inseparable attribute of his personality so that no darkness can find place in him anymore, not even as a product of a free choice, by an act independent of him. Attributing Evil, even indirectly, to God, would now sound the worst of blasphemies [19]).

Evil must, necessarily, have a different and independent origin, it does not matter if this radical division would be charged by insoluble consequences. Thus, Ahriman, the new name of the Devil identified with Darkness, becomes the direct opposer of God, of this pure and perfect God, who, for being saved from any contamination of darkness, has lost the possibility of being beyond it. The two principles are now coeval, equally eternal in their respective realms, in an endless opposition, if Ohrmazd, who still maintains his divine superiority, at least as Omniscient and Immortal, cannot provide for the total dectruction of his eternal, but not immortal adversary [20]).

A whole cosmogony is created to overcome the great threat of Evil. This has become so powerful that Ohrmazd himself is compelled to recognize that if he does not take adequate measures "Ahriman would do unto his creation even as he had threatened; and the struggle and the mixture would be everlasting; and Ahriman could settle in the mixed state of creation and take it to himself" [21]). Being without beginning, the Devil would necessarily also be without end if the Lord, in his infinite wisdom, could not create a "finite time" into which he

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18) R. C. ZAEHNER, op. cit., p. 141.

19) Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, op. cit., p. 140.

20) Cf. for instance, *Bundahishm,* I, 1 sq., where it is said, that "Ohrmazd and the Space, Religion, and the Time of Ohrmazd were and are and evermore shall be" while Ahriman, "was, and is and yet will not be". (Translated by R. C. ZAEHNER, *The Teaching of the Magi,* N. York (Allen & Unwin), 1956, p. 35).

21) *Bundahism,* I, 11 (translated by R. C. ZAEHNER, *The Teaching of the Magi,* op. cit., p. 37)

could net him and let him perish at the end of it. Such an end has
been fixed with a reciprocal agreement [22]) in a period lasting nine
thousand or, following another account, twelve thousand year [23]).
Creation itself will serve as a field of battle, acting as a limited
space [24]). By allowing Ahriman, who lives in darkness, to enter into
creation, Ohrmazd exposes his own work to the ruining and corrup-
tive action of the Devil, and at the same time he condemns his own
creature to suffer under the tyranny of his adversary; nevertheless
this seems to him the best and the most loyal mean to attain the com-
plete destruction of his enemy. "He saw", in effect, "the beneficent
actions by which, through the wisdom of Ohrmazd, the spiritual wisdom,
within the allowed time, the limited space, the restricted conflict, the
moderate trouble, *and* the definite labour *existing*, struggles against the
fiend, who is the unlawful establisher of the wizard; and he returned
inside to fall disarmed *and* alive, *and* until he shall be fully tormented
and shall be thoroughly experienced they shall not let *him* out again in
the allotted time that the fiend ordered *for* the success of falsehood *and*
lies..." up to "the disappearance of the fiend, the annihilation of the
demons and the non-existence of antagonism" [25]). Only so it could be
possible "to make good creatures again fresh and pure" [26]) and to
establish that regeneration which remains always, from the Gâtha upto
the modern Parsi, the final goal towards which all creation points.

Certainly, the Lord could also have avoided the Evil's invasion into
his pure creation; he could preserve his work from death, suffering
and corruption. But, in such a way, Ahriman could never be totally
destroyed, remaining "eternally facing the frontiers. Forbidden to enter,
he would face eternally the creatures, who would be eternally troubl-
ed" [27]). The threatening of Evil can only be avoided by facing it

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22) Cf. *Bundahishn,* I, 18 sq.

23) Cf. the theory of these eras, divided into periods of threethousand years
each, in *Bundahishn,* I, 18 sqq.; XXXIV. 1 sqq.; etc. Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, *The
Teaching of the Magi,* op. cit., p. 31; U. BIANCHI, *Teogonie e Cosmologie,* Torino,
1960, p. 90.

24) For the different stages of such a struggle cf. *Dadîstân-i Dinîk,* c.,
XXXVII, 19 sq. XVIII, p. 84 S.B.E. (26) id., l.c., 21.

25) *Dadâdîstân-i Dinîk,* XXXVII, 19 sq. (S.B.E. XVIII, p. 84.).

26) id., l.c., 21.

27) *Dadîstân-i Dinî,* XXXVII, 16 (from the French translation of M. MOLE.
La naissance du monde, in "Sources Orientales", Paris, 1959, p. 309).

directly. It seems beyond the Power of God himself. Therefore, it would be necessary for Ohrmazd to attract his enemy into his own realm for being able to net him into his "finite time"; if he should remain in his darknesss Ohrmazd could never be able to impose his will upon him. Moreover, Ahriman has not only to invade the Kingdom of Light, but even to strike for the first in order to merit the right punishment. It would not be loyal from the Justice *par excellence*, an anticipated action against him before his fury could be hustled into the world, introducing in it death, pain and injustice. In fact, "to attack the Devil before his own attack to Light, to hit him before his own hit, to punish him before the existence of a real motivation, all these would be directly contrary to the justice and equity, which are insepar- able from the creation of Ohrmazd ... Therefore the Creator did not order his army to obtain victory, and to protect the world of light from the attacks of the Devil, except after he has committed the sin of attacking the world of light ..." [28]). Thus, it seemed better to the Lord to allow a natural order to be broken, which can be restored later on, and to deliver for a while his creatures to pain, death and corruption, for the sake of the total elimination of their cause, than to preserve them through an act which could not be in tune with the Supreme Justice.

In such a manner the mediaeval Zoroastrianism justifies the entrance of Evil into the originally good and pure creation, and, at the same time, it maintains intact the Goodness of the Lord, leaving him free from any contact with Darkness. Nevertheless, in this anxiety of preserving at any cost Ohrmazd from the responsability of evil, and willing to maintain his pure Light absolutely uncontaminated by any contact with Darkness, his transcendent Unicity remains irremediably compromised. Theologians are aware of the difficulty and insolubility of the problem which does not cease to trouble them. In effect, as absolute monism is unable to answer adequately to the challenge pro- duced by the constant and irreductible presence of Evil, so, strict dualism cannot stand for the Absoluteness and Unicity claimed by the Supreme Divinity as such. The strange figure of Zûrvan, the Time, who enters in a certain moment in the Zoroastrian tradition, even if it does

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28) *Dadîstân-i Dînîk*, XXXVII, 17 (from the tr. M. OLE', op. cit., p. 309 sq.).

not seem to have been accepted by the orthodox doctrine [29]), it is a witness of the necessity to overcome dualism by embodying again the two Spirits in an all-comprehensive and higher Unity [30]). The same necessity is felt again nowadays and the efforts of modern Parsi theologians are pointed towards a new restoration of Ahura Mazdâ as the Supreme and Indisputable Lord, beyond Good and Evil, without rivals, and to the order of whom the same Satan acts accordingly, for the sake of creation [31]).

After having considered the ontological position of Evil in his cosmological connection, let us see now the moral aspect of suffering as it appears in the Zoroastrian economy of Salvation. From a practical point of view, the suffering which surrounds Zarathustra in his life is that which comes to him from the polemic and threatening attitude of his enemies, against, which he asks desperately for help from his God [32]); it is the suffering personality experienced by him during his preaching, faced by the hostility of those who do not want to listen to him and who compel him to flee [33]); it is the suffering of the sacrified Bull which has no defense before its sacrificers [34]); or even the suffering which his people endures against enemies and foreign nomades [35]). In a word, it is the consequence of the presence of the Devil in the world; nevertheless it is not totally negative, it has its own value, specially as a good incentive to push man into the cosmic battle. It acts as a lever to compel man to accept the fight, which points towards the prospective of an end of it. And this positive value is still more emphasized later on: "for the creatures engaged in the fight, he (the Lord) created alertness, so that they can collect, with their own

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29) Cf. U. BIANCHI, *Teogonie a cosmogonie*, op. cit., p. 94; S. G. F. BRANDON, *History, Time and Deity*, New York, 1965, p. 49 sq.

30) On this interesting subject, which cannot be developed here, cf. specially R. C. ZAEHNER, *Zürvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955.

31) Cf., for instance, K. S. DABU, *Message of Zarathustra*, Bombay, 1956, especially p. 21 where it is said: "Thus Satan is but a sparing partner in the soul's exercises for gaining victory over flesh until it is liberated. Satan is not in revolt against God, but does unpleasant work assigned to him under the supreme authority of God".

32) Cf. *Yasna*, XXXIV, 7 sq.

33) Cf. *Yasna*, XLVI, 1 sqq.

34) Cf. *Yasna*, XXIX, 1 sqq.

35) Cf. R. C. ZAEHNER, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, op. cit., p. 34.

struggle, the supreme happiness of Paradise, at the resurrection. It is certainly by offering the separation from evil as a reward that he won the minds of those beings who are submitted to dirtiness". 36) Even death itself has to be accepted with joy in this perspective, because, if for the Devil that will represent the definitive punishment, for the Ohrmazd's creatures, on the contrary, it will mean the cessation of suffering as such. With Death, Evil will be put to an end, while the Immortality will be opened before those who have won 37). "It is like this that he (the Lord) makes them able to accept death: because, their life having an end, they know that suffering in the *gêtê* [the material creation, which differs from *mênôk* creation, the spiritual one, which remains uncontaminated and outside fighting 38)] has a limit, and end, while an eternal life mixed with pain, without end, without limit, would mean an eternity of suffering" 39).

So, the way out of such a condition of suffering in the world has already given in the very structure of the cosmogony itself. The only way man has to go out from his present situation is to conquer Evil and suffering in a strenuous struggle. The arms for the fight shall be: right action, right thought, right word, that is to say, a right moral conduct 40), and a free adhesion to the true religion and the true doctrine preached by the Prophet 41). For such a cosmic fight man rejoices in a special position with respect to every creature, but he has to reach a maturity in order to be able to fight his own adversary. For this he has been granted with "a long immortality; it is the best kind of immortality which can have beings attained by the Adversary. In fact, as long as they are exposed to the Devil, an eternal life means an eternity of suffering, while the wonderful force of procreation allows man to remain ever young in succession and offspring, good in a world hit by the Adversary. So man rejoices in an eternal life which continues in his children and grand-children. It is so that all *those* who die by sickness or old age, shall be reborn in their own children; and

36) *Dadîstân-i Dinîk,* XXXVII, 38 (from the transl. of M. MOLE', op. cit., p. 313).
37) Cf. *Mc.,* XIII, 13 ; *Rev.,* II, 1 sqq.
38) Cf. *Bundahishn,* c. III, sqq.
39) *Dadîstân-i Dinîk,* XXXVII, 39 (from the transl. of M. MOLE', op. cit., p. 313).
40) Cf. *Yasna,* XXXIV, 1 sq. & 15 ; etc.
41) Cf. *Yasna,* XLVIII, 1 sqq. ; XXXIV, 3 sqq. ; XXXIII, 1 sqq. ; etc.

every time a seed becomes ripe, a true fighter appears and fights an adversary, to whom he has to triumph. And even a light seed on the balance shall lead to Paradise" [42]).

The goal of such a struggle is the complete and total renewal of existence, not only eschatologically projected in a world to come, but already possible even in the present life (although the whole renewal will be fully achieved after the Final Great Judgement-day). Precisely in this consists the great hope of the Message of Zarathustra to the Humanity: he makes possible the victory over the Devil here and now. In this respect, he gave a dynamic solution of the scandal of suffering and Evil, if not in an ontological level, at least in a practical one, by engaging man into a fight for the restoration of a second existence, totally renewed and transformed according to the salvific Will of the Supreme Lord. The Prophet himself hopes to be able to inaugurate such an era [43]).

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42) *Dadistân-i Dînîk*, XXXVII, 41 sqq. (transl. from M. MOLE', op. cit., p. 313).
43) Cf. *Yasna*, XXX, 9: "could we be those who shall renew this existence" (from the French translation of J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Zoroastre*, op. cit., s.l.).

SHORT NOTE

When in the future that part of the 20th century in which we now live is described with regard to its significance for Islamology, it might well be characterized as 'the period of the reprints'. Works by Bell, Dozy, Goldziher, MacDonald, Nöldeke, Snouck Hurgronje and many others have recently been re-issued. Even complete series of periodicals such as *Der Islam, The Muslim World*, etc. have been reprinted. Consequently classical works, long unavailable to the individual for his private library, are once more obtainable. Gradually the store of Islamic scholarship, accumulated in the west since the middle of the last century, is becoming accessible to the newer institutes and the younger generations of orientalists and historians of religion. It also forestalls the production of mere compilations. More time will be available for original work and studies based on the well-trodden paths. So it is a pleasure to report that several more classical works on Islam have recently been reprinted.

John P. Brown, *The Darvishes*, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968 (reprint of the 2nd. ed.), XXIII + 496 pp., 95 S.

In June of this year the publisher, Frank Cass & Co. in London brought out a new edition of *The Darvishes* by John P. Brown which was first published exactly a century ago. A second edition, edited by H. A. Rose appeared in 1927 with an Introduction and Notes by the editor. The importance of this book lies in the eye-witness accounts that Brown gave us of the way of life and the rites of the many Ṣūfī orders within the Ottoman Empire. Although the title, *The Darvishes*, might suggest that it deals chiefly with the so-called 'whirling dervishes' (the Mawlawīs), or the 'howling dervishes' (the Rifāʿiyya order), in fact some 32 orders are discussed. One of the author's informants belonged to the Qādirīs. Apart from the Rifāʿiyya and the Qādirīs much attention is payed to the Naqshbandīs, the Beqtāshīs, the Malāmiyyūn and the Mawlawīs, particularly to the origin of their rites and prayers, garb and initiation customs, and their political influence. Rose's extensive notes have up-dated the work to the year 1927. The work is a primary source of reference, particularly for the recent history of religious life in Turkey. An index facilitates its use as such.

M. Asín Palacios, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*. Translated and abridged by Harold Sutherland, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968 (reprint of the first ed. in English), XXV + 295 pp., 65 S.

This work by the famous orientalist, Miguel Asín Palacios appeared in Madrid in 1919 under the title of *La Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia* and six years later the English translation by Harold

Sutherland introduced it to a larger audience of interested orientalists and Dantophiles. In the meantime it had already given rise to numerous articles for and against. In an earlier work Asín Palacios had noticed a close resemblance between the ascension of Dante and Beatrice through the spheres of Paradise, and the ascension of the mystic and philosopher Ibn ʿArabī in the Futūḥāt. Closer study of Ibn ʿArabī's allegory, however, lead him to the conclusion that it was itself a mystical adaptation of the Miʿrādj of Muḥammad. Then he found that the Muslim tradition of the Miʿrādj as preceded by the Isrāʾ, the Nocturnal Journey, during which Muḥammad visited some of the infernal regions, must have been the prototype of Dante's Divine Comedy. Further inquiry confirmed this. Furthermore, parts of Dante's and of his Christian predecessors, which had until then been regarded as original, appeared to be traceable to the medieval Muslim Miʿrādj traditions. The recently republished work gives striking examples of this. It is, however, regrettable that the Arabic texts and the verses from the Divine Comedy which have been compared to each other, as well as some of the notes have been omitted in the translation. But for these one can refer to the Spanish original. The work includes a bibliography and an index.

H. Lammens, *Islam, Beliefs and Institutions*. Translated by Sir E. Dennison Ross, London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968 (reprint of the first ed. in English), VII + 256 pp., 60 S.

This work by Père Lammens, who was a professor at the French university Saint Joseph in Beirut, first appeared in 1926 in French, entitled *L'Islam, croyances et institutions*, and saw two new editions. The last one appeared after the author's death and was edited by R. Chidiac S.J. (Beyrouth, 1943). The first English translation of which the present edition is a reprint, was made in 1929. When one compares this English edition of 1929 with the French of 1943 it is apparent that, apart from a seven-page appendix by Chidiac about the developments in the Muslim world to 1940, only a few minor additions and improvements have been made. The book is not meant to be a short history of Islam. It is a description of Islam in its various aspects with historical references where necessary. It contains many interesting original observations. The book includes an index of Koran verses and subjects.

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